

Letter from the Arctic

WEATHER — PARIS: Tuesday, variable with showers.  
44 (24-44). LONDON: Tuesday, overcast with rain.  
45 (35-45). CHAMBERS: Tuesday, overcast.  
YORK: 45 (35-45). FRANKFURT: Tuesday, overcast.  
TOWN: 45 (35-45). NEW YORK: Tuesday, fair.  
45 (35-45).

ADDITIONAL WEATHER DATA — PAGE 18

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

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PARIS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1981

Established 1887

## Mubarak Reassured On Pullout

### Begin Affirms Plans on Sinai

From Agency Dispatches  
EL AVIV — Amid further violence by Israeli settlers resisting an evacuation from the occupied Sinai Peninsula, Prime Minister Yitzhak Begin assured Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Sunday that Israel will complete its withdrawal on schedule this year, Israel Radio said.

Settlers in the northern Sinai of Yamit set fire to an empty house overnight to protest the government's refusal to meet their demands for compensation for evacuating the area when it is returned to Egypt. An earlier blaze Sunday destroyed another vacant house.

Israeli radio said the Israeli ambassador in Cairo, Moshe Sassoon, delivered a seven-page handwritten letter from Mr. Begin to Mr. Mubarak. The broadcast said the letter also explained Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, which ypt has criticized.



The Reagans arriving in California for a week's vacation.

## Warsaw Reports an End to Miners' Strike

VIENNA — Warsaw radio said Monday night that the two-week strike by coal miners at the Piesze in southern Poland, the last known point of major resistance to the martial law authorities, had ended.

The radio had estimated that 900 workers were still involved in the underground strike on Monday. In its latest broadcast, monitored here, it said that the strike committee at the mine had dissolved itself and that the men were coming to the surface in groups.

"It is the duty of all mine workers to report to the work sites," the radio added in a reference to Tuesday's shifts.

The strikers had been holding out 650 meters (2,100 feet) underground in protest against the imposition of martial law on Dec. 13. As the strike continued, the authorities reported that nearly all of those involved were suffering from their long period underground and needed medical attention.

Walesa Reported to Fast  
The authorities contended that most of the men were being kept below ground by what they called extremist members of the Solidarity trade union.

In Stockholm, a Solidarity spokesman said that the leader of the union, Lech Walesa, was on hunger strike to protest his detention.

The spokesman, Jacob Swiecicki, said he believed that Mr. Walesa began refusing food on Dec. 24 and was demanding freedom of movement, an opportunity to contact friends and political advisers, an end to martial law and the release of all persons detained since Dec. 13.

[The British Broadcasting Corp., quoting what it termed a reliable report from Poland, reported Monday night that Mr. Walesa went on hunger strike before Christmas but was persuaded to call it off, the Associated Press reported from London.]

Thousands of Polish workers, meanwhile, appear to have been freed after refusing to break with the Solidarity movement, press reports from Warsaw said Monday.

The uncensored reports indicated widespread firings in what was described as a "verification" campaign apparently intended to eliminate the underground union movement. Those dismissed had refused government demands that they promise not to engage in "anti-social activity" and that they resign from Solidarity, Western journalists in Warsaw reported.

A Justice Ministry spokesman said on Warsaw radio that five Solidarity members had been arrested for calling a strike and jailed for up to three and a half years with no right of appeal, United Press International reported.

But the Polish leadership gave only scant details of the extent of the nation's turnout for work on Monday after bleak Christmas holidays. It was not clear how many workers heeded calls by Solidarity militants for continued passive resistance to military rule.

The radio said that in the Baltic port of Gdansk, more workers than were needed had shown up for duty at the repair shipyard. But the radio made no mention of the Lenin shipyard where Solidarity was founded in August of last year after a dockers' strike that paralyzed the nation.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, head of the Polish government, said in a Christmas broadcast that the Communist leaders would allow "really independent" trade unions to operate, provided they were free of political manipulation.

Reports reaching the West said that Solidarity leaders who had escaped arrest called in leaflets distributed to Warsaw for a post-Christmas campaign of passive resistance. They urged workers to follow the example of the Ursus tractor factory, which was said to have produced only one tractor in the first week of martial law.

There have been reports of soldiers' families being subjected to a "fear campaign," with their homes daubed with white crosses to identify those connected with the military government. Polish ships were returning from abroad with reduced crews after defections in Western ports. In some cases, relief crews sent abroad to take over stranded ships had deserted.

The reports said that the regional Communist Party organization in Krakow had been suspended, and that there were similar suspensions of party units in factories elsewhere. They said many party members had turned in their membership cards.

In Vatican City, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, Pope John Paul's special envoy to Warsaw, briefed the press Monday on conditions in Poland.

In London, officials said that political directors of European Economic Community foreign ministries would meet there Wednesday to assess the Polish situation. But they were unlikely to make policy decisions on food and economic aid for Poland, the officials said.

The British foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, originally wanted EEC foreign ministers to meet, but a ministerial meeting proved impossible to arrange at short notice.

Warsaw radio said Sunday night that the monthly meat ration for all but manual workers would be cut from three kilograms (6.6 pounds) to 2.5 kilograms because private farmers had halved supplies. It repeated warnings of compulsory purchases if farmers failed to increase deliveries.

Supplies of bread, butter, meat, and poultry in Warsaw were sufficient Monday, Warsaw radio said, but it added that deliveries of bread and milk in some parts of the city had been delayed.

[Warsaw radio said that children, pregnant women and the elderly and sick would receive 8.8 pounds of meat per month. The Associated Press reported. The broadcast also said that butter rations would be reduced, but it did not say by how much. Most Poles were restricted earlier this year to about 8 ounces per month.]

[Meat and butter rations were cut off completely for farmers with more than 1.2 acres of land, the state-run radio said, presumably because farmers have access to their own food stocks, the AP reported.]

The Red Cross said in Geneva that it had sent four tons of medicine by air to Warsaw.

The military authorities also announced that the easing of travel restrictions within provinces, in force over the Christmas holidays, had been extended.

The announcement said that permission would no longer be required for travel to and from locations in the same province, and that people would be allowed to stay away from their permanent residence for up to four days without having to register with the police.

In the Danish port of Aarhus, dockers who refused to unload a cargo of Polish pig iron on Christmas Eve later decided to handle it to avoid fines on their union.

## Town Is Fortified

Mr. Sassoon declined to reveal details of the letter but said that he perceived Mr. Mubarak to visit in February, Israel radio said.

Settlers in Yamit started fortifying the town with sandbags, barbed wire and other defenses in case the government orders its soldiers to clear settlements.

The talks on compensation for businessmen who must leave the town before Israel's final withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula scheduled for April 26 broke down today for the second time in a month.

The first time, settlers barricaded themselves into the town for ten days until Defense Minister Ariel Sharon arrived and persuaded them to resume the negotiations and end the self-imposed siege on Dec. 7.

On Sunday, the Cabinet decided to urge a return to the talks and to send a committee to meet the offer but hedged, saying those who wanted to visit Yamit were welcome.

Under the peace treaty concluded in 1979 with Egypt, the Israelis agreed to evacuate from the last part of Sinai, including Yamit and 13 other communities, by April 26. The government last week set a deadline of March 31 to clear out Israeli residents.

## 'Only the Beginning'

"What we have done so far is only the beginning," said the secretary of the committee, Moshe Margalit. "Even if we decide to negotiate, from now on we will do so as if we were at war. We shall continue as if there are no negotiations, even if there are negotiations."

"People here are not fighting for ecology — they're fighting for their future," said Raim Feitel, a Yamit settler, told Israeli radio. "We captured the Sinai from Egypt in 1967. Middle East war, there are about 3,000 Israelis in the Sinai and surrounding farm settlements, and since September we have been joined by about 60 families of the 'Stop the Withdrawal Movement.' The new arrivals have taken over houses vacated by earlier settlers and put up with settlements."

Cabinet Secretary Ariel Naor said protests would not stop Israel from giving the land back to Egypt. "The commitment of Israel is carried out with or without a settlement of the good people of the movement to stop the withdrawal," Mr. Naor said.

The Cabinet has been divided — whether to evict the settlers or, closer to the evacuation, to negotiate with them.

## Brezhnev Letter Called Negative But Is Said Not to Preclude Talks

From Agency Dispatches  
WASHINGTON — President Reagan has characterized a letter from Leonid I. Brezhnev on the Polish situation as "negative" in tone, but an administration official said later that the Soviet leader's message did not seem to rule out discussion on Poland.

As the martial law government in Poland began its third week, U.S.-Soviet relations had become increasingly involved because of Mr. Reagan's warning to Mr. Brezhnev last week that, unless the repression in Poland eased soon, he would take economic and political actions against the Soviet Union.

Neither Mr. Reagan nor senior officials would divulge the contents of Mr. Brezhnev's reply on Friday night to Mr. Reagan's letter, sent late last Tuesday. But aboard his plane Sunday en route to California, where he will spend a week of vacation, Mr. Reagan, asked if the Brezhnev letter was positive or negative, he replied, "With them, it's always negative."

Later, a White House aide said that the letter was "perfunctory" but that "it did not close the door" to further talks. It was unclear whether the administration viewed the letter as leaving open the possibility that the Soviet Union would use its influence to see that martial law was eased in Poland, or whether it provided grounds for some punitive action by the United States and other Western nations.

In a year-end interview with seven newspaper groups, given Wednesday and released Sunday, Mr. Reagan rejected the suggestion that he has softened his hard-line attitude toward the Soviet Union, but added: "I think we're in the world together and it doesn't mean that you can't talk and try to resolve your differences, but I think you go at it with some realism. So, I have no objection to talking."

"Meeting Is Likely"  
Mr. Brezhnev has proposed a summit meeting, Mr. Reagan said in a summit must be properly prepared for, and added, "I still feel that some time to the coming year... a meeting is likely."

In Los Angeles, a White House spokesman said that Mr. Reagan would decide later in the week on further U.S. steps in the Polish crisis. The spokesman, Larry M. Speakes, said Monday that a special situation group, headed by Vice President Bush, held a lengthy meeting at the White House Monday on Poland and agreed on a number of options to be presented to Mr. Reagan for consideration.

An official, who asked that he not be identified, said the prospective steps amounted to "tightening screws," and could be announced as early as Tuesday.

Meanwhile, State Department spokesman Dean E. Fischer said Monday that "we have seen no evidence of any easing" to the martial law in Poland.

On Monday, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, who made a trip to Europe last week to consult with allies on Poland, said that Mr. Brezhnev's letter will play a role in any decision on possible steps against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Eagleburger was asked about the possibility of U.S. sanctions against Moscow even if the Soviet Union does not intervene in Poland directly. He replied: "In the first place, as far as I'm concerned, it's very clear the Soviets are in this up to their neck to begin with. In the second place, the question of sanctions is something that's being looked at now."

"It obviously has to be looked at in the context of the Brezhnev letter," he said. "That letter has to be a part of the context in which the sanctions are now looked at, and I would expect that there'll be some decisions to the next few days."

He said that U.S. allies "have already begun to move" against the crackdown in Poland, and added, "I think the public opinion pressures, particularly from the unions, are pushing them [allied governments] to be tougher. I expect that over the course of the next week or two we'll find that in fact a number of Western European governments are moving in the same direction."

As Western diplomats here never tire of saying, April is the watershed, and the overriding priority for Egyptian policy is to give Israel no excuse for failing to leave the Sinai.

Mr. Ghali emphasized that his government expects stable relations between Israel and the Arab world to take "a very long time." But he argued that if Israel were to make "a beginning toward a Palestinian solution now, it would cause a real change to the whole Middle East — despite everything done by Begin in the last two years."

He insisted that moderate Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Jordan attach high priority to movement on Palestinian autonomy at this time and are prepared to take reciprocal steps in response to Israeli efforts. He acknowledged, however, that he had no hard evidence or commitments to support this argument.

But, he said, "if after six months, diplomacy has not worked, the Israelis could return to what they were doing before. If after 12 months, there still was no movement from the Arab side, they could decide to build new settlements." This was a reference to the West Bank.

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Demonstrators burned a Soviet flag outside the Polish Consulate in Chicago Sunday. Police estimated that more than 10,000 people participated in the protest against martial law in Poland.

## Relief Volunteers Join Search for Detainees

Regular communications with Poland, cut by the martial-law authorities on Dec. 13, remain out. Washington Post correspondent Michael Dobbs, who has covered the Polish crisis for the last 16 months, is in Warsaw.

WARSAW — Alongside St. Martin's Church in Warsaw's Old Town there is a long, rectangular room that used to serve as a Sunday school. Since the imposition of martial law in Poland it looks more like the sorting room of a post office. It is crisscrossed with brown paper parcels tied with string.

The parcels, wrapped by volunteers, are addressed to the thousands of Solidarity activists now being held to internment camps throughout Poland. Each parcel contains food, cigarettes, toothpaste and soap.

The scene in the church is just a part of a huge relief operation now under way in Poland designed to help those detained as a result of the government's crackdown on the Solidarity movement. Well-known movie actors and celebrities have joined forces with nuns and students to assist the detainees and their families. More such centers are believed to exist in other Polish cities.

A major problem facing the relief workers is to establish exactly who has been detained and where the person is being held. Lists issued by the martial-law authorities of interned persons have been incomplete and to some cases, inaccurate because they have included the names of Solidarity activists known to be at liberty. The government has also refused to give information about the places of detention.

According to the official figure, about 5,000 Poles have been interned since martial law was declared in Poland. Spokesmen have also claimed that many of the original detainees have been released.

Church officials believe that the number of detainees is much higher — perhaps about 40,000. While the church official confirms that some detainees have been released, they claim that other persons are being arrested.

The first arrests took place shortly after midnight on Sunday, Dec. 13. Many of Solidarity's most prominent national leaders were arrested to the Baltic port of Gdansk, where they had been attending a union meeting. Lech Walesa, the union leader, was detained at his home and transferred to Warsaw.

The first wave of arrests included full-time officials of Solidarity and discredited former Communist Party leaders such as Edward Giersek. The second wave, which took place three or four days later, brought the arrests of some union activists on the shop-floor level who had not been arrested earlier, and organizers of strikes in defiance of martial-law regulations. Some Solidarity activists expect a third wave of arrests early next month.

"At the moment they're still sorting us out. They're sifting through the detainees to see who they need to keep on a long-term basis, and keeping a close watch on those of us still at large to see whom we contact," said a union activist who was first detained and then released after signing a pledge to respect the law.

Part of the sorting-out process, according to volunteers involved in the relief operation, involves separating the workers from the intellectuals. Part of the strength of the Polish revolution was that it managed to unite these two traditionally disparate groups. Solidarity activists suspect the authorities of seeking to isolate the worker activists.

Unofficial Solidarity officials and intellectuals apparently enjoy rather better conditions than the workers. The union's former leaders — with the exception of Mr. Walesa — are reportedly detained in a military rest home on the Baltic coast. Many intellectuals, meanwhile, are said to be in a juvenile prison near Warsaw.

Conditions in both internment centers are reportedly to be relatively good. According to people who have been released, the main complaint of the detainees is that they are totally cut off from information about the outside world. Even the state-run television and the official press is denied to them.

The organizers of relief operations have drawn up lists of detainees on the basis of reports from those released. St. Martin's Church and other relief centers are also visited by a stream of distraught relatives of arrested activists. They pool their information and are provided with legal and financial help.

Unofficial lists of detainees include such names as Edward Lipinski, a 95-year-old economist who helped found the dissident Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), actress Halina Milojkova, and Jacek Kuron, Bronislava Geremek and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Detainees who have since been released include the head of the writers' union, Jan Jozef Szczepanski.

Few of the top Solidarity leaders managed to escape arrest. Of those who did, the most prominent is Zbigniew Bujak, a worker at the Ursus tractor plant who headed the union's powerful Warsaw branch. He was rumored to have sought asylum in a Western embassy in Warsaw, but there is no reliable evidence to support this.

There are curious gaps in some of the lists of detainees. While some low-level union activists have been arrested, other much more prominent ones have either been released or never detained. The result is a climate of general mistrust in which those who are released are suspected of being police agents and those who are free know they could be detained at any time.

## INSIDE

### Japanese Budget

In a move interpreted as a gesture to U.S. concerns, Japan's government decided on an \$11.7 billion budget for military spending in 1982, a figure that topped the forecast announced earlier. Page 3.

### Iran Opposition

Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, the former Iranian president, and a group of associates are reportedly trying to organize a new political coalition to overthrow Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's rule. Page 2.

### Detention

The Reagan administration has gained important support from the legal community for the "preventive detention" of criminal suspects. Page 3.



Hoagy Carmichael, composer of 'Stardust,' dies at 82 in California. Page 3.

## Uneasy Vietnam Seeking a Dialogue With U.S. on Ties

By Bernard Weinraub  
New York Times Service

HANOI — Vietnam, facing economic crisis, food shortages and an uneasy relationship with the Soviet Union, is seeking to open a dialogue with the United States that would lead to diplomatic ties.

Reports from Western diplomats here, as well as statements by Foreign Ministry officials, indicate that the Vietnamese government's recent welcome to four visiting U.S. veterans was an initial effort to woo public opinion in the United States. Hanoi's aim, according to diplomats, appears to be at "starting a process" that would alter the Reagan administration's resistance to normal relations with Vietnam because of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

"Tell your people we are friends, we are not enemies," Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach told the veterans.

Life is bleak in Vietnam, a situation brought about by political isolation, widespread malnutrition, inflation believed to run as high as 200 percent a year, a series of devastating typhoons that damaged food crops, a textbook Marxist five-year plan that began in 1976 and ended in failure, the damage wrought by the war, and the exodus of ethnic Chinese tradesmen and skilled workers.

Beyond this, a major legacy of the war remains the numerous re-education camps, where South Vietnamese officials, military men, intellectuals, doctors, lawyers and businessmen have been placed to be "rehabilitated." The number of people confined may be from 20,000 to 200,000.

### 'Very Grave' Situation

"The human rights situation in Vietnam is very grave," said a Western diplomat. He said Vietnamese now need travel permits to journey outside their provinces, job allocations have split up families, and freedom of association is banned.

Even in Ho Chi Minh City, which retains some of the frenetic tempo of the old Saigon, "pre-liberation" days, authorities have closed the renowned book market and confiscated "unconstructive" works, including fairy tales, romantic novels, mysteries, and histories of the French and U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

But the major problem is food. Although Nguyen Lam, chairman of the State Planning Commission, said Vietnam would meet its goals this year and produce a record 15 million tons, 600,000 tons more than last year, the effect of two typhoons in recent years and the attempt to impose farm cooperatives and collectivization on peasants in the south has left the population stricken.

"My students sit and stare and clutch their stomachs with hunger," said Nina McCoy, an American who works for a Swedish aid group teaching English to Vietnamese medical students. "People are lucky if they have rice and maybe a boiled vegetable twice a day. There's no fish, no high protein, and the malnutrition among children scares me."

McCoy, who is from Oregon, has worked in Vietnam since July, 1979. "I'm seeing people shrink before my eyes — it's unbearable," she said. "Whatever food people have, they try to give to their kids."

Food rations in many parts of the country, especially the north, have been cut from an average of 14 kilograms (31 pounds) a month to 11.7 kilograms — far below the 15 kilos considered the minimum subsistence level. Fish, which used to be plentiful, are now in short supply, in part because fuel is scarce

and many boats have sailed away with refugees.

On the free market, chicken costs about \$4.50 a kilo, rice a little more than \$1 a kilo and meat about \$2.85 a kilo. The average income is \$160 a year. One Asian diplomat said the nation's economy reminded him of "Bangladesh on a good day."

Vietnamese officials concede that "mistakes in economic planning" — or rigid adherence to collectivization and nationalization of farms — have hurt food production. One of the reasons for stepped-up food output in recent months is a relaxation of controls that has opened the way for some incentives and private enterprise.

Western diplomats in Vietnam see the meetings with private U.S. citizens, such as the veterans, as attempts by Hanoi to bring U.S. public pressure to bear on Washington toward a normalization of relations.

The veterans, who met Vietnamese officials as well as foreign diplomats, believe Hanoi's view of the United States was probably skewed by the anti-war movement of the 1960s.

What Vietnamese government officials (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



# New Coalition Being Formed in Bid to Depose Khomeini, Bani-Sadr Ally Says

By Walter Pincus

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Former President Abolmohsen Bani-Sadr of Iran and a group of his associates inside and outside Iran are trying to put together a new political coalition to overthrow the regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, according to one of Mr. Bani-Sadr's political allies.

Alli Reza Nobari, former head of Iran's central bank, said that progress has been slow "because the people want to be assured that the new government is not going to cheat them the same way Khomeini cheated them. ... Khomeini has gotten so bad, we want to make sure it won't be so bad next time."

Many of the 20 to 30 organizers of the effort, including Mr. Nobari, were among the Western-educated students who worked for nearly 15 years to overthrow Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and re-

place him with Ayatollah Khomeini.

The anti-Khomeini forces that Mr. Nobari and his colleagues hope to bring together include conservative former military leaders and businessmen who fled after the revolution, anti-shah revolutionaries who studied at Western universities and then worked for Ayatollah Khomeini, and leftists ranging from Socialists to Communists, from intellectuals to terrorists.

The Bani-Sadr forces tried to generate public support for a revolution last summer, thinking it would be easy because of the economic and political turmoil in Iran. But tightened internal security foiled them.

Now they are beginning the slower process of pulling together an international movement, raising money and searching for a way to broadcast anti-Khomeini messages into Iran, and trying to structure a pluralistic government in exile.

The new attempt would not include members of the Communist Tudeh Party, which supports Ayatollah Khomeini, nor the monarchists who want to put the late shah's son on the Peacock Throne. Mr. Nobari warned that U.S. support of the young Reza Pahlavi, who has proclaimed himself shah from exile in Cairo, "would unite Iranians behind Khomeini against the Americans."

The group's strategy was outlined by Mr. Nobari earlier this month in a wide-ranging interview, his first in the United States since fleeing Iran last September. He was in Washington after visiting his wife, who is an American, and their children in California.

Mr. Nobari, one of the key participants in negotiating the return of the 52 American hostages last January, sharply criticized Ayatollah Khomeini as "corrupted by power" and painted a grim picture of Iran as a country that has come under a rule of terror since the

shah was overthrown nearly three years ago.

Before the revolution, Iranians perceived two enemies, Mr. Nobari said: the shah and the United States.

"With Khomeini it's different," he said. "They see that foreigners are not helping Khomeini; it is the people themselves who put Khomeini in power. So here comes a feeling of ... why did we do this to ourselves?"

He said Ayatollah Khomeini "used the hostages and is now using the Iran war to stay in power."

Mr. Nobari, who said he had talked to the ayatollah's doctors, disputed the idea that the 82-year-old leader is near dying and not in control of Iran. For years, he said, Ayatollah Khomeini has raised questions about his health and then used the issue for political purposes.

To hold power, Mr. Nobari said, Ayatollah Khomeini needed crises

to bring the crowds into the street, so he supported or created crises.

"The first executions shocked everybody, but were done with his expressed insistence," Mr. Nobari said. "Meanwhile, he used to tell people like Bani-Sadr that 'No, we are going to have due process.' From the start, he consciously was playing both sides."

That was why many in the West couldn't understand, Mr. Nobari said. "You would feel that there were sudden changes in the position of Iran. But these were not changes. The deep positions were the same. Khomeini was just playing chess, as the cat that lets the mouse go away and then catches him again. That was what was done with the hostages."

Mr. Nobari said that the 63 Americans originally taken hostage at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran were first accepted as a vehicle to demand that the shah, who had been allowed into the United States for medical treatment, be re-

turned to Iran for trial. But shortly thereafter, he said, the hostages also became a tool against factions challenging Ayatollah Khomeini's rule.

As Mr. Nobari sees it, the crowds brought out in support of the embassy seizure, which Premier Mehdi Bazargan opposed, gave Ayatollah Khomeini the opportunity to replace Mr. Bazargan with the clergy-dominated Revolutionary Council. Continued demonstrations helped the ayatollah rally support to get his constitution approved in a national referendum, giving him total control over the government.

Once Ayatollah Khomeini had "his government and he had the control over everything," Mr. Nobari said, "he decided we had to get out of this economic embargo of the West because we cannot get spare parts. ... Then he finally decided yes, it was the time to solve the hostages."

The timing was also influenced by the U.S. presidential election, on the first anniversary of the hostage-taking.

"I was on the committee that drafted the basic four conditions that were approved by the parliament before Nov. 4," Mr. Nobari said, adding that the Iranians were trying to help President Jimmy Carter in his re-election bid against Ronald Reagan. "I'm absolutely sure of the motives. But it ended up, because they were so inefficient, that it actually hurt Carter."

Ayatollah Khomeini's next step was to remove Mr. Bani-Sadr, whose election as president gave him stature among the people, according to Mr. Nobari. As the last of Mr. Bani-Sadr's appointees, Mr. Nobari was caught in that struggle.

After Mr. Bani-Sadr was stripped of his title of commander in chief last June, "we understood that he was out, so all of us, we were underground," including Mr. Bani-Sadr, Mr. Nobari recalled.

"Finally, we saw that normal homes were not safe so he [Mr. Bani-Sadr] went into one of the hideouts of the Mujahideen," a small Marxist-Islamic guerrilla organization, Mr. Nobari said.

He said that one potential base for anti-Khomeini support, he said, is the Iranian military. "Khomeini knows that," Mr. Nobari said, "and that's why he has kept the army busy with Iraq."

Mr. Nobari's picture of Iran now is grim. "All the purely idealistic revolutionary elements have left or were purged. ... Efficiency of the police has increased greatly, and the techniques they use make me believe that there are SAVAK [the shah's secret police] elements there. Unemployment is high and the shortages started mainly with the war have continued."

Unhappy as the Iranians are, Mr. Nobari said, religious mysticism, Ayatollah Khomeini wraps around himself has protected him so far from revolution.

## Saudi Arabia and Iraq Sign Accord Resolving 60-Year Border Dispute

New York Times Service

BEIRUT — Saudi Arabia and Iraq have signed an agreement ending a nearly 60-year border dispute amid signs of growing cooperation between them against Iran.

The agreement was concluded Saturday in Baghdad by Prince Nayef bin Abdul Aziz, the Saudi minister of interior, and his Iraqi counterpart, Saadoun Shaker. Afterward, Prince Nayef was received by President Saddam Hussein and delivered a message from King Khalid, according to the Iraq news

agency. The agency also carried excerpts from speeches delivered by the two ministers at ceremony where the border agreement was signed.

The speeches were aimed mainly against the Iranian government. Prince Nayef was quoted as saying that Iraq was fighting a war against Iran not only to defend itself "but also to protect the entire Arab nation."

Analysts here said the remarks indicated that the Saudi Arabians supported the Iraqi thesis that the

war with Tehran, now in its 15th month, was intended to safeguard the Arab world against what Baghdad termed "the Persian threat and menace."

Mr. Shaker called for collective Arab strategy in the Gulf region to counter what he described as "the vicious intrigues" of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the agency reported.

Saudi Arabia a few days ago concluded a security pact with the island nation of Bahrain, following an announcement by the Bahraini authorities that they had crushed what they said was an Iranian-backed conspiracy to unseat the government and destabilize the entire Gulf area. According to newspapers in the Gulf, contacts were under way among the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council to sign a collective security accord. They are Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Oman.

The border pact between Saudi Arabia and Iraq concerns their common border, which extends about 500 miles (800 kilometers). The frontier was originally drawn up in 1922 by Britain. Neither Baghdad nor Riyadh was satisfied, and the situation has caused conflict and friction between them. The provisions of the border agreement have not been made public.

Saudi Crown Prince Fahd has called for the establishment of a "security fence" in the Gulf to defend the region against what he termed "adventurers who are engaged in gambling with the fate of the people of the area." The prince spoke in an interview with two Saudi newspapers, Al-Yom and Al-Bilad, which was quoted by Riyadh radio.



Workers in Pisa clear the debris from the explosion in an apartment building.

## Death Toll Reaches 9 in Pisa Blast; More Feared Dead

United Press International

PISA — At least nine persons have now been reported killed in the explosion Sunday that destroyed a four-story apartment building about a kilometer from the Leaning Tower, police said Monday.

Eighteen persons have been reported injured, and police said they believed that more bodies

would be found in the wreckage. More than 700 firemen, police and troops worked through the night to clear the rubble.

Fire officials said they believed then was caused by a leaking gas cylinder, but could not be certain until the investigation was completed. At the time of the explosion, 10 to 15 persons were in a restaurant on the ground floor of the building.

## Authenticity of Gen. Dozier Photo Probed

The Associated Press

MILAN — Police experts on Monday examined a snapshot of kidnapped Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier, issued by the Red Brigades, in an effort to determine whether it was faked to imply that the U.S. officer was co-operating with his abductors.

"We are still unable to say if the photograph is the result of a montage," a spokesman for anti-terrorist police in Verona said.

The picture shows Gen. Dozier seated beneath the Red Brigades five-pointed star symbol and holding a placard covered with anti-American slogans. Police believe the snapshot could have been doctored with a shot of the placard after the general was photographed. But they said they were assuming

that the head-and-shoulders shot of the general had been taken since he was kidnapped.

Police confirmed earlier reports that a Red Brigades communiqué said the general's "proletarian trial" had begun. In the communiqué on Sunday, the group said Gen. Dozier would be interrogated about the NATO forces under his command.

Italian newspapers, describing Gen. Dozier's expression in the photograph as "ironic," speculated that the picture was evidence that Gen. Dozier had not been broken. A small dark mark, possibly a bruise, is visible under his left eye in the photograph.

Italian newspapers also noted that the communiqué conceded

that there were deep divisions within the Red Brigades.

In Beirut, a person claiming to represent the Red Brigades telephone the Italian news agency ANSA and posed conditions for Gen. Dozier's release, but police in Rome said they did not believe the call was authentic. A similar call, made in Beirut on Dec. 22, was discredited.

"It's completely out of the Red Brigades style," said a police official in Rome. "They never make phone calls from abroad."

On Sunday, breaking an eight-day silence, the Red Brigades called an Italian news agency and said the photo, the second communiqué since the kidnapping and a document on Red Brigades strategy were in a trash can

## Cairo Intent on Saving Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Israeli settlements being established on the West Bank and Golan Heights that Arabs see as an Israeli way of ensuring these territories will remain part of Israel.

"I have no guarantees" for the Israelis, he continued, "but I reverse the question and ask, What will they lose? They have the trump cards — the territory, the forces, and basically American support."

It was not clear exactly what steps Mr. Ghali and other Egyptian officials expected of Israel at this time. They did make it clear that they preferred concrete moves toward Palestinian self-government. But when asked for specifics, Mr. Ghali mentioned "confidence-building measures" such as allowing the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip more free speech and the return of certain moderate Palestinian leaders.

Like Israeli officials interviewed

recently, Egyptian officials criticized what they saw as the absence of a Reagan administration policy toward the Middle East. Most of those interviewed, however, added that the administration has brought about a general recovery of U.S. prestige in the area after the debacle of the abortive effort to rescue the American hostages in Iran and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

One of the principal questions in Israel is whether the April watershed will turn into an "April fool" Egyptian trick to reclaim the Sinai and then stop the peace process.

Egypt, Mr. Ghali pointed out, can be relied upon for three reasons: Unlike other Arab states, it has very few Palestinians to cause internal trouble; Egyptians have had stable institutions, and there has been stability of leadership in Egypt — only three leaders since 1952, Gamal Abdul Nasser, Anwar Sadat and now President Hosni Mubarak.

## Vietnam Seeking Talks With U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

fail to realize, judging by conversations with some of them, is that Hanoi does not have the kind of citizen support in the United States that it assumes it has, and that normal relations with Vietnam is not a priority for Americans.

By several accounts, the prospect of normal relations between the United States and Vietnam loomed in the fall of 1978 and discussions began on the establishment of embassies. (The Vietnamese now show U.S. visitors the elegant villa on Hai Ba Trung Street that was to have been the U.S. Embassy). But the Carter administration drew back at the last moment because of impending normalization with China, a move antithetical to Vietnam.

What followed, in November, 1978, was a Vietnamese demand for cooperation that ensured Hanoi's firm reliance on Moscow. Estimates of Soviet aid range from \$3 billion to \$6 billion a day for military and civilian projects, including most of the upkeep of the 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia. It is estimated that 8,000 Russians in Vietnam, and the Soviet Air Force and Navy have acquired repair and refueling facilities in Danang and Cam Ranh Bay.

Vietnam has sent an estimated 50,000 "guest workers" to factories

in the Soviet bloc. Western diplomats said, in effect, the workers receive only part of their salaries, with the rest saved for debt service. Hanoi's total external debt has climbed to \$3 billion, according to official Vietnamese sources. Of this amount, \$1.6 billion is estimated to come from Soviet bloc nations.

Tensions between the Soviet Union and Vietnam have arisen over Soviet influence in Cambodia, and some diplomats predict that the intensely nationalistic Vietnamese will never fall totally under the sway of the Russians. There is grumbling about the poor quality of some of the corn and rice the Russians have sent. Beyond this, there are personal complaints.

"Rude, Overbearing"

"The Russians make it obvious that they want no contact at all with the Vietnamese," said a foreign aid worker. "The Vietnamese say privately that the Russians are rude, overbearing people. The Vietnamese laugh at them. Every one listens to the Voice of America, and everyone knows what's going on in Poland and the Vietnamese are not fooled at all."

Moreover, diplomats point out that the Russians are probably realizing the difficulties involved in aid to Vietnam. According to the Far Eastern Economic Review, Soviet shipping experts were shocked

to find goods that had been sent from the Soviet Union in 1968 rotting in the Haiphong Harbor dock yards.

Sweden, the major Western aid donor, is also finding "severe difficulties," an Asian diplomat said. Sweden has spent nearly \$400 million on a paper mill near Hanoi, which the diplomat termed "a classic disaster."

"They are building a high-cost, high-technology paper mill, and the problems of electricity and water and labor are incredible," he said.

In a nation of 54 million that has failed to grow or earn enough to feed itself, the about half the national wealth supports the armed forces. With more than 2.6 million, Vietnam has the third largest military force in the world after the Soviet Union and China.

U.S. Rules Out Ties

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The U.S. State Department on Monday ruled out any improvement in relations with Vietnam as long as Vietnamese troops remain in Cambodia.

"Vietnam continues to occupy Kampuchea in violation of international norms of behavior and three successive resolutions of the UN General Assembly," a department spokesman said.

## History, Geography Work Against Reagan Search for Action on Polish Crisis

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After three days of intensive discussions with his chief advisers last week about how to react to the suppression of freedom in Poland, President Reagan discovered that he was caught in the same bind of anger and frustration as previous presi-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

dents who had to deal with similar crises on Soviet borders.

Poland, like Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, is within the Soviet sphere of influence. There is no way, short of risking World War III, for the West to use force there. That is an accepted fact of life in Washington. On Dec. 14, the day after Warsaw imposed martial law, reporters traveling with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. were told that the West had "no military option" in Poland, only political and economic choices.

In August, 1968, when Soviet-led Warsaw Pact forces crushed "Socialism with human face" in Czechoslovakia, as President Lyndon B. Johnson recalled in his memoirs, the U.S. response was to

"try to avoid any action that would further inflame the situation." He added, "We hoped that increasing world criticism would convince Moscow not to crush the modest liberalism among the Czechs."

The hope was in vain. Czechoslovak liberalism was wiped out. Retaliating, Mr. Johnson canceled a trip to Leningrad for the start of strategic nuclear weapons talks; some cultural exchanges were also scrubbed. But a year later, the weapons talks and the exchanges were again on track.

Similarly, in 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower cut off all contacts with the Russians when Soviet tanks intervened in Hungary. But in a few months, Moscow and Washington again resumed discussions.

Angry Reaction

Two years ago, President Jimmy Carter reacted angrily to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. He cut back virtually every facet of U.S.-Soviet cooperation, including the lucrative grain trade. The new administration, although it took office boasting of its tougher attitude toward Moscow, nevertheless restored the grain sales, fulfilling a Reagan promise to farmers.

Thus, as they considered actions on Poland, Mr. Reagan and his advisers had history working against them. Whatever the administration said or did would stand mainly as an emblem of Washington's feelings, like the candles that Americans put in their windows on Christmas Eve to show sympathy for the Poles.

In addition, Mr. Reagan had to deal with the allies' differing assessments: Was it a Soviet opera-

tion, with Poles — instead of Russians — doing Moscow's work? Or could it be that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, was sincere when he said martial law was his own idea, to rescue Poland from chaos and the threat of Soviet occupation, and that he intends to preserve the reforms of August, 1980?

West Germany, which has tried to keep dissent alive even at the cost sometimes of irritating the

United States, seemed to go out of its way to endorse Gen. Jaruzelski's version of the events. France, which initially took a similar hands-off attitude, toughened up under pressure from its trade unions. So did Italy and Britain.

Although all the NATO allies were upset, there was no consensus on what to do. Under domestic pressure to act, Mr. Reagan felt there was no time to wait for a diplomatic consensus. He wanted to

go beyond mere expressions of anger, but his address Wednesday night nevertheless was mostly that. The few sanctions he announced were quickly discounted even by his strongest ideological supporters as largely cosmetic. Indeed, Mr. Reagan had few levers available to use on Warsaw or Moscow. Those that he did have could not easily be used.

For instance, a total embargo on food aid would undoubtedly have

caused severe hardship. But it would not be likely to end martial law, and the victims would be the Polish people, not their leaders. In fact, Polish-American leaders who met with Mr. Reagan last week urged him to increase food assistance.

Another tough action might have been to block rescheduling of Poland's \$7.7-billion debt, but that would have jeopardized Western banks and governments along with the Soviet bloc's credit standing. So there remained only such relatively minor sanctions as suspending U.S. Export-Import Bank credit insurance (already cut back), halting Poland's airline service to the United States, and barring its fishing boats from U.S. waters.

Warning to Moscow

Mr. Reagan held Moscow virtually responsible for the crackdown, but his action against the Soviet Union was limited — a warning that if repression in Poland is not ended swiftly, the United States will invoke political and economic sanctions against the Russians, too.

Administration spokesmen, feeling defensive about seeming to let Moscow off the hook, contended that putting the Russians on notice

might lead them to act on easing repression in Poland. But it was clear that Washington's sanctions could not be effective unless its main allies agreed to follow suit. Consultations confirmed that, for countries deeply involved in East-West trade, economic sanctions were unacceptable, at least unless Soviet tanks rolled into Poland.

As for political sanctions, relations with the Russians were already in such poor shape that Mr. Reagan had few cards to play, except in the arms control field. U.S.-Soviet talks on reducing nuclear forces in Europe began in Geneva last month, and Mr. Haig is scheduled to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko on Jan. 26, to set a time and place for resuming strategic arms talks.

Cancelling these talks would show displeasure but it would not hurt the Russians. A cancellation would probably open the Western alliance to a whole new set of strains. NATO plans for new missiles in Europe are heavily dependent on giving at least the impression of serious negotiations of nuclear weapons control to opponents of nuclear weapons in West Germany and other European countries.

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## Japan Cabinet Raises Arms Spending in Bid To Appease U.S. Critics

By Tracy Dahlby  
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — In a bid to avert the growing possibility of a political backlash in Washington, Premier Zenko Suzuki's government decided Monday on an \$11.7-billion budget for military spending in 1982, a figure that exceeded more modest forecasts announced earlier.

Mr. Suzuki's Cabinet met at a special session here Monday evening to endorse plans to increase military spending by 7.5 percent next year, compared to 7.6 percent this year. Japan has come under increasing pressure from the U.S. Congress to bring its level of military spending into line with its economic goal.

The decision to increase the military budget, according to government officials and private military analysts here, was meant as a gesture to defuse Japan's growing uneasiness with the Reagan administration that Tokyo bolster its military capability to help offset U.S. military commitments in the Pacific.

### Trade Surplus

A senior official at Japan's Defense Agency asserted that the increased appropriations will allow Japan to buy more of anti-submarine patrol planes, naval vessels and other military hardware. The budget now goes to the Diet, or parliament, for final approval.

The government's chief concern appeared to be what is perceived here as sharply rising criticism in Washington that while Japan has a relatively low level of military expenses among its allies, its estimated trade surplus with the United States this year is a record \$18 billion.

A Japanese political analyst said: "Mr. Suzuki's advisers have been telling him how angry the Americans are right now and that a symbol to show Japan's sincerity and seriousness is needed to avoid a collision course with the United States. Mainly, [the spending increase] is intended as a signal to the United States."

Reagan administration officials have been reluctant to publicly link trade and military issues. But U.S. congressmen have complained publicly, and Japanese officials are privately concerned about a draft resolution introduced recently to the U.S. Congress calling for Japan to spend at least 1 percent of its gross national product on national defense.

### Huge Deficits

Defense Agency officials said that the 1982 military budget should bring the figure to 0.93 percent of GNP, compared with 0.9 percent to the current year. This is still considerably less than the estimated 5.2 percent for the United

States, 3.3 percent for West Germany and 4.9 percent for Britain.

But the officials argued that, after inflation is taken into account, Japan's military spending increases next year would come to 4.6 percent, in real terms, which would outstrip the 3-percent increases pledged by the NATO allies.

"This is the best we were able to achieve under current circumstances," said a senior official. Despite the Japanese Cabinet's announcement in June of plans to hold the increase in military spending to 7.5 percent next year, Japan's Ministry of Finance has recently indicated that the figure be kept to 6.5 percent in line with its efforts to cut huge government deficits.

The ministry's demand infuriated influential members of Mr. Suzuki's Liberal Democratic Party, which is conservative. These members openly advocated expanded military appropriations as a means of reducing tensions in relations with Washington.

Relations deteriorated last December when former Defense Secretary Harold Brown and other Carter administration officials maintained that they were led to believe that Tokyo would increase arms spending this year by 9.7 percent. The final figure of 7.6 percent led to charges that Japan was shirking its responsibilities.

### Opposition Protests

The Cabinet's decision to boost the 1982 figure to 7.75 percent, a senior analyst here said, was made "because if Suzuki didn't do anything, it would look like the Japanese were double-talking again. The figure itself may still look small from the American standpoint, but top Liberal Democrats consider it sufficient as a gesture of good faith."

Other government departments were held to an average increase of 6.5 percent. The overall 1982 budget approved Monday by the Cabinet is \$226 billion. For the first time to the postwar era, other departments were allowed to outstrip the increase in welfare spending, which is to be held to 2.8 percent under Tokyo's fiscal austerity drive.

The decision was protested by Japan's Socialists, Communists and other opposition groups. But the political costs to Mr. Suzuki and his Liberal Democrats were expected to be slight because of their substantial parliamentary majority and the fact that strong anti-war attitudes here have begun to weaken in recent years.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said last week that Japan should bolster its military strength to defend itself up to 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) from the home islands. "Mr. Weinberger's remarks were taken into consideration in our budget deliberations," a senior official said.



A demonstrator who broke through the gate of a detention center for Haitians near Miami.

## 100 Haitians Flee Detention in Florida During Protest

United Press International

MIAMI — More than 100 Haitians fled a detention camp during a demonstration outside the camp Sunday, officials said Monday. A Haitian refugee leader predicted more trouble if the Reagan administration does not free Haitians being held to federal detention centers after coming to the United States illegally.

Immigration and Naturalization Service officials said riot police were called Sunday afternoon

to Krome Avenue detention camp near Miami when a protest rally outside the camp turned violent. No one was seriously injured. Three of the 300 demonstrators were arrested.

During the disturbance between police and protesters who gathered at the camp to support a hunger strike by 660 Haitian detainees, more than 100 Haitians escaped, officials said. An INS spokeswoman said most climbed a barbed-wire fence at the rear of the compound.

## Chinese Students in U.S. Stymied By a Poor Command of English

By Michael Weisskopf  
Washington Post Service

PEKING — After months of anxious waiting, the Chinese student embarks on a period of study in the United States, armed with a letter of acceptance from an American college, a U.S. visa, a stipend from his government, and his dreams.

It sounds like the making of a success story, except for one hitch: The student's English is so poor that he cannot understand his lectures, participate in class discussions or exchange views with his American counterparts.

Three years after Peking and Washington agreed to educational exchanges to enhance mutual understanding, the Chinese student's language problem is a familiar story that not only sours his personal experience, but clouds the exchange program itself.

Recent studies of Chinese enrolled in American schools reveal the alarming statistic that as many as half of the visiting scholars and 60 percent of the students need remedial language training before they can begin to achieve their purpose for coming.

Although many American schools enthusiastically welcomed Chinese students in the first flush of normalized relations and provided free remedial English courses for the slow starters, they are starting to tire of shouldering the high costs of such programs and now demand greater proficiency in English.

Schools that originally accepted Chinese scholars and students on faith that they spoke adequate English have started to require all candidates to take the standard "Test of English as a Foreign Language," that is compulsory for applicants from other non-English speaking countries.

Recently, the two-hour test in English was given for the first time in China. It was taken by 630 students to three cities. The examinees wielded No. 2 pencils, received instructions to English and submit-

ted to the same procedures of standardized testing in the United States.

The increasingly stringent language requirements of American colleges are not entirely self-centered. Lack of English proficiency places a heavy burden on Chinese visitors, many of whom already feel tremendous pressure to succeed after surviving the rigorous Chinese selection process and the difficulty of getting a U.S. visa.

Although most of the visitors eventually pick up enough English to function in an academic setting, others escape to the security of Chinese restaurant kitchens and never see the inside of a classroom, a U.S. diplomat said.

The Chinese government, which has placed about half of the estimated 6,000 Chinese now studying in the United States, provides its officially sponsored nominees with between a month and a year of intensive English training before they leave.

As it has become clear that this preparation is insufficient, Chinese education officials who had increasingly turned to American schools to train the new generation of Chinese experts have started taking steps to beef up English training programs in China.

Scores of "foreign experts" have been hired from English-speaking nations to fill Chinese classrooms with native speakers. Instruction in the ABCs is offered daily on the radio. English has been made a compulsory course in primary schools, alongside mathematics and Chinese literature.

Russian language teachers who were at a premium in the 1950s, when Chinese were exhorted to "learn from Big Brother," now are being retrained as English-language instructors.

Plans have been made to set up two dozen training sites in China, with the hope of unleashing 4,800 new English instructors in Chinese colleges within the next three years.

has spurred the opposition parties, right and left, to think seriously about joint action," said Kuldip Nayyar, a political commentator who called the postponement of the repelling a watershed.

Still, he said, the diverse opposition parties lack a universally respected leader who could pull them together and erase the widespread public image of the out-of-power politicians as leaders merely squabbling for a greater share of the pie than they now receive from the Gandhi government.

### Merger Unrealistic

The coalition government was brought down in a large measure by the petty ambitions of many of its members who now lead opposition parties formed by the splintering of the Janata Party government.

"The people lost faith in the credibility of the opposition parties," Mr. Vajpayee acknowledged. "The first task of the opposition has been to re-establish itself."

Yet the squabbling goes on. Mr. Vajpayee said Saturday that it was unrealistic to talk of merger because of "past experience, present distrust and future forebodings."

And personal ambition still governs the actions of opposition leaders. Two of the brightest of

them, Mr. Vajpayee and Subramanyam Swamy, the Janata Party president, were edged out by ruling Congress-I members to carry on a running feud in Parliament over whether Mr. Vajpayee had called Mr. Swamy a CIA agent.

### Security Law Upheld

NEW DELHI (AP) — India's supreme court Monday upheld the national security act that allows preventive detention without trial for up to a year, but laid down guidelines intended to protect persons arrested under the law.

The act, ratified by Parliament a year ago, provides for detention of persons believed by the government to be liable to harm the country's defense, security, public order, relations with foreign countries or flow of essential supplies and services.

The court ordered that persons arrested under the act be segregated because it was "hardly fair to put them in cells with common criminals." "We see no reason why they should not be permitted to wear their own clothes, eat their own food, have interviews with the members of their families at least once a week [and] have reading and writing material," the court ruled. "Books are the best friends

## ABA Study Backs Use of Detentions

"Dangerous" Suspects Could Be Denied Bail

By Fred Barbash  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — An American Bar Association task force on crime has recommended the use of "preventive detention" to keep potentially dangerous criminal suspects off the streets while awaiting trial.

The task force joins Justice Department and congressional conservatives in what appears to be an increasingly powerful campaign for preventive detention legislation. Such legislation is opposed by civil liberties groups as an excessive infringement on rights of defendants.

The task force, headed by former Florida State Prosecutor Richard E. Gerstein, is composed of nine lawyers, judges and scholars. Its proposals eventually will be submitted for full ABA approval.

The task force called for stricter gun-control laws as well, but rejected measures to ban handgun possession for individuals in their homes and businesses, as many gun-control groups favor.

And it took sharp issue with administration proposals for a massive infusion of funds to build more and bigger prisons. "There is no solid evidence to support the conclusion that sending more convicted offenders to prison for longer periods of time will deter others from committing crimes," the ABA task force said. Nor is there reason to believe greater rates of incarceration would reduce the crime rates, because so few criminals get caught, it said.

The issue of preventive detention — now before the Supreme Court — has been both debated for several decades, but except in the Washington and a few states, laws mandating its use have been rejected on civil liberties grounds.

Under preventive detention, persons charged with crimes can be locked up before trial without a right to bail when it is thought they might be dangerous.

The task force said preventive detention should only be used under careful procedural safeguards and special hearings in which the suspect's dangerousness is considered. Defendants should only be prevented from leaving if, when they are accused of committing a violent crime while on release for a previous offense and when they have a past record of violent crime.

The task force disagreed with conservatives on the "exclusionary rule," which forbids the use of evidence seized illegally by police. The exclusionary rule has also been under attack for years as allowing guilty criminals to go free "on a technicality."

The administration has proposed creating an exception to the rule when police act unconstitutionally but in "good faith."

KAMPALA, Uganda — At a rough count, there are 10 war-torn, rocket-propelled, sputtering across Africa with varying intensity. Among the more obscure is a small conflict in northern Uganda in which two big-game experts are taking on units of the Sudanese Army in an effort to save Uganda's elephants from extinction.

One of the experts, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, has voiced the fear that the war, in Kidepo National Park on the remote border between Sudan and Uganda, could be stepped up through U.S. arms supply to Khartoum, including heat-seeking missiles.

There are whispers among the experts' associates that, given the chance, they, too, would step up the conflict by firing mortars at the Sudanese. The experts are also talking of moving to "the second phase of the immediate phase of Action by executing a major ambush and capturing as many of the untrained men as possible."

The war has its roots in a border dispute dating from British colonial times. On the maps, Kidepo National Park lies on Ugandan territory. The Sudanese contend, however, that the boundary drawn by Britain is not the real frontier, and that a chunk of the Kidepo park is in Sudan.

Thus, Sudanese soldiers, based at a place on the border called Bira have come to regard Kidepo as a source of fresh meat. According to the other expert fighting them, Capt. Frank Poppleton, the Sudanese are also poaching ivory and this year have killed 40 of the elephants in Kidepo National Park, whose number is estimated at between 400 and 800.

The situation is grave, Capt. Poppleton said, because widespread poaching elsewhere in Uganda during a decade of unrest has decimated elephant herds and wiped out the rhinoceros population.

The conflict seems to have heated up this year as a result of an anti-poaching project, financed by the United Nations and the European Economic Community, that has enabled the Ugandan authorities to hire Capt. Poppleton as chief technical adviser and Mr. Douglas-Hamilton as chief anti-poaching expert.

With the battle lines drawn, Mr. Douglas-Hamilton and Capt. Poppleton have acquired automatic rifles, four-wheel-drive vehicles, several portable radios and a spotter plane.

Their men, comprising game rangers and a platoon of poorly trained Ugandan soldiers, take up observation positions on a hill overlooking the Sudanese border in this forgotten corner of Africa. They radio to headquarters when the Sudanese, whose weapons include Soviet-made Kalashnikov assault rifles, two-inch mortars and

surgeon at the University of California School of Medicine, died Friday. He was also an honorary fellow of the Royal Academy of Surgeons in England.

## Japan Banks Set East Bloc Loans

The Associated Press

TOKYO — The Export-Import Bank of Japan said Monday that it and 23 Japanese commercial banks have signed contracts to supply 44.9 billion yen (about \$204 million) in bank loans to the Soviet Union and East Germany to finance industrial projects.

Ex-Im Bank officials said loans totaling 20.3 billion yen will be supplied to the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade to help the Russians buy equipment and services for a chemical plant at the Tobolsk petrochemical complex to western Siberia.

They said loans totaling 24.6 billion yen will be supplied to Deutsche Ausenhandelsbank Aktiengesellschaft of East Germany to finance a project at the Schwedt petrochemical complex. The officials declined to give other details, such as the terms of repayment or the interest rate.

## Ethiopia Won't Relent On Seizure of Church

By Pranay B. Gupta  
New York Times Service

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — The government of Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam has rejected formal protests by Sweden and Norway over the seizure by Ethiopian soldiers of the headquarters of the Scandinavian-supported Lutheran Church, the country's largest Protestant denomination.

Foreign Minister Felleke Gedle Giorgis summoned West European ambassadors to his office this month and, according to one of the ambassadors, told them that "pressure from abroad will not change our government's mind."

The government has also closed almost 200 churches. It has given no official explanation for its actions. But some senior officials are reported to be concerned that the church seizures and closings could be interpreted in the West as Marxist persecution of Christians. Ethiopia has been a bastion of Christianity in Africa for more than 16 centuries.

A Swedish diplomat said the government's rejection of the protests could result in reduced economic aid. The diplomat said several members of Sweden's parliament have urged a reduction in aid.

Sweden gives Ethiopia \$20 million a year and Norway gives \$10 million. Sweden is the biggest donor of aid to Ethiopia and has proposed a \$2-million increase next year.

### Buildings Seized

The seizure of the headquarters of the Evangelical Church, which includes various Scandinavian and German Lutheran denominations, followed the sequestration of the five-story building in central Addis Ababa that was owned by the Emanuel Baptist Church.

In the weeks before that, the military authorities closed 180 of the 600 Lutheran churches in the southern and western regions of Sidamo and Welega.

While there are no official census figures on religious denominations in Ethiopia, it is estimated that 40 percent of the 33 million people are members of the Christian Ethiopian Orthodox Church and that 46 percent are Moslems.

The Lutheran Church is said to

have the allegiance of 500,000 of Ethiopia's 600,000 Protestants. There are also said to be about 250,000 Catholics and 28,000 black Jews, known in Ethiopia as Falashas.

As far as is known in this authoritarian state, Orthodox Christians and Moslems have not been harassed. But a spokesman for the Canadian Association for Ethiopian Jews said in Jerusalem that some Falashas in northern Ethiopia had been tortured and their villages deprived of educational and other government services.

The spokesman, Steven Bauman, said that he and 12 other Canadians and Americans visited several black Jews in Ethiopia and heard reports of brutal treatment by government officials. However, a Western diplomat said reports of persecution of black Jews were "highly exaggerated."

The Evangelical Church headquarters building is now occupied by an office of the Internal Security Ministry. Church officials say the government has not responded to repeated inquiries about other accommodations.

### More Space

Some Western diplomats and Ethiopians said the seizure could have been a result simply of a need for more office space for the government.

But some church leaders in the Sidamo and Welega regions have been accused of terrorist activities, and 175 Ethiopian pastors were imprisoned recently. Government officials say that religious freedom is allowed as long as churches do not work against the government.

Diplomats also say the Lutheran Church could be suspect because the church's executive secretary is the brother of a guerrilla leader.

The church official, Gudina Tunssa, is widely believed to be in prison. His brother leads the Oromo Liberation Front, which agitates for autonomy for the southern and western regions. The Oromo comprise the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, and several Lutheran pastors of Oromo origin have been publicly flogged in Sidamo and Welega for what were called anti-government sentiments.

## Uganda Game Experts Take On Sudan's Army

By Alan Cowell  
New York Times Service

KAMPALA, Uganda — At a rough count, there are 10 war-torn, rocket-propelled, sputtering across Africa with varying intensity. Among the more obscure is a small conflict in northern Uganda in which two big-game experts are taking on units of the Sudanese Army in an effort to save Uganda's elephants from extinction.

One of the experts, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, has voiced the fear that the war, in Kidepo National Park on the remote border between Sudan and Uganda, could be stepped up through U.S. arms supply to Khartoum, including heat-seeking missiles.

There are whispers among the experts' associates that, given the chance, they, too, would step up the conflict by firing mortars at the Sudanese. The experts are also talking of moving to "the second phase of the immediate phase of Action by executing a major ambush and capturing as many of the untrained men as possible."

The war has its roots in a border dispute dating from British colonial times. On the maps, Kidepo National Park lies on Ugandan territory. The Sudanese contend, however, that the boundary drawn by Britain is not the real frontier, and that a chunk of the Kidepo park is in Sudan.

Thus, Sudanese soldiers, based at a place on the border called Bira have come to regard Kidepo as a source of fresh meat. According to the other expert fighting them, Capt. Frank Poppleton, the Sudanese are also poaching ivory and this year have killed 40 of the elephants in Kidepo National Park, whose number is estimated at between 400 and 800.

The situation is grave, Capt. Poppleton said, because widespread poaching elsewhere in Uganda during a decade of unrest has decimated elephant herds and wiped out the rhinoceros population.

The conflict seems to have heated up this year as a result of an anti-poaching project, financed by the United Nations and the European Economic Community, that has enabled the Ugandan authorities to hire Capt. Poppleton as chief technical adviser and Mr. Douglas-Hamilton as chief anti-poaching expert.

With the battle lines drawn, Mr. Douglas-Hamilton and Capt. Poppleton have acquired automatic rifles, four-wheel-drive vehicles, several portable radios and a spotter plane.

Their men, comprising game rangers and a platoon of poorly trained Ugandan soldiers, take up observation positions on a hill overlooking the Sudanese border in this forgotten corner of Africa. They radio to headquarters when the Sudanese, whose weapons include Soviet-made Kalashnikov assault rifles, two-inch mortars and

surgeon at the University of California School of Medicine, died Friday. He was also an honorary fellow of the Royal Academy of Surgeons in England.

They said loans totaling 24.6 billion yen will be supplied to Deutsche Ausenhandelsbank Aktiengesellschaft of East Germany to finance a project at the Schwedt petrochemical complex. The officials declined to give other details, such as the terms of repayment or the interest rate.

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rocket-propelled grenades, cross the border from Bira barracks into Kidepo. Sometimes, there have been contacts, and a Ugandan warden has chronicled a firefight.

### Aerial Reconnaissance

Capt. Poppleton, who helped set up Uganda's national parks between 1953 and 1964, said the conflict was not a new phenomenon. Several years ago, he said, the Sudanese crossed into Kidepo in half-tracked, armored vehicles, prompting a Ugandan game ranger to dig a tank trap, into which plummeted a half-track laden with poached meat.

These days the techniques are more sophisticated. When a Sudanese incursion is reported, Mr. Douglas-Hamilton takes off in his small aircraft to act as aerial reconnaissance and radios his men with the position of the intruders. This, too, has had its problems.

On one occasion, Capt. Poppleton reported, a Sudanese bullet passed through the aircraft's fuselage and missed hitting a passenger in the rear seat, by nine inches; the aircraft has been hit three times. Capt. Poppleton said. On the ground, there have been fatalities on both sides. The latest clash, on Dec. 2, took the life of a Sudanese army soldier, Capt. Poppleton said.

The Sudanese embassies in Kampala and Nairobi, the captain continued, have "disclaimed national responsibility" for the incursions into Kidepo, which is probably the only source of fresh meat for the Sudanese troops in their isolated outpost at Bira.

Mr. Douglas-Hamilton and Capt. Poppleton have appealed to the United States to use its influence with President Gafoor Nimeiri of Sudan to end the poaching. Western diplomats said the United States had made representations to the Sudanese.

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## Opposition Coordinates Challenge to Gandhi Government

By Stuart Auerbach  
Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — India's fragmented opposition parties have joined in their first coordinated challenge to the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, forcing it during the legislative session that ended last week into extended debates on its foreign and economic policies and on charges of corruption in its administration.

The opposition is given no chance of unseating the almost two-year-old Gandhi government, which holds an overwhelming two-thirds majority in Parliament. Nonetheless, the unified tactic of the more than a dozen opposition parties appears to be making the government pay at least lip service to their views.

"The opposition can no longer be bypassed," said A.B. Vajpayee, leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party and former minister in the previous government. "We have succeeded in keeping the government on its toes. Its failures have been highlighted. Its officials have been on the defensive on almost all issues."

Although he acknowledged that the opposition has been unable to push the government to make major changes in its positions, Mr. Vajpayee said that opposition

statements forced the Gandhi administration to take a more responsive tone toward Pakistan's offer of a no-war pact.

Furthermore, the opposition appeared united in criticizing the Gandhi government's successful request for a \$5.8-billion loan from the International Monetary Fund. Satalp Malik, secretary of the Lok Dal Party, called the loan "the biggest blot on the Indian economy."

Mr. Gandhi appears to have recognized the new power of a united opposition. She has called opposition leaders to meet with her on two of the most divisive issues in India. They are the highly publicized though apparently minuscule movement for a separate Sikh nation, Khalistan, which has disrupted the politics of India's breadbasket state of Punjab, and the long-standing, well-supported agitation in the oil-rich northeast state of Assam to protect the cultural identity of its inhabitants. They fear an influx of Bengali "foreigners" from Bangladesh as well as from overcrowded nearby Indian states.

At the same time, Mrs. Gandhi has attacked opposition charges of government corruption as "malicious and vicious."



## West Germany and Poland

The docile West German reaction to the crackdown in Poland is a disturbing measure of the cracks in the Western alliance. The West Germans can no longer pretend that "Cowboy Reagan" is stirring the cold war. Americans need to recognize in trying to coordinate NATO policies that détente lives on as a powerful chimera in West German eyes. Gradually, those eyes will have to be refocused on the real world.

West Germany's geography has always given it a somewhat different perspective on the Soviet bloc. It used to be more frightened of Moscow than its allies were. Now it feels emboldened to think it can bridge the gap between East and West. That is because the dream of German reunification, family ties with East Germany and a lucrative trade all depend on détente. And the Social Democratic sponsors of this Ostpolitik have a powerful partisan stake in its success.

West Germany's distinctive view of the East became apparent this year when its anti-nuclear movement concentrated on condemning NATO's rearmament while largely ignoring the Soviet contribution to the arms race. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had defied that movement in the past, but he is clearly afraid of it now.

Just how afraid was obvious two weeks ago when Polish Communists opened the war on their own people. Schmidt was at that moment visiting the East German Communist leader, Erich Honecker, and he pretended, unconsciously, that nothing much had happened to affect their talks. Indeed, his first expression of shock was that the Polish suppression had been "necessary."

The chancellor's criticism of the Poles since then has been perfunctory. Even the

Italian Communist Party has been more forthright than the usually outspoken West German Social Democrats, who have had plenty to say about El Salvador, Turkey and other more distant disorders.

For all that, Schmidt made no visible headway on his main mission in East Germany. In return for renewing a long-standing \$400-million interest-free trade credit and other goodies, he wanted East Germany to rescind the prohibitively high new costs of West German visits to relatives.

He seems willing to risk even failure on that score if the Communist East will help him create an atmosphere in which the European nuclear arms race can be toned down. Only that, it seems, might relieve the anti-nuclear pressures of the youth and other leftist forces that will challenge Schmidt's leadership at his party congress next spring.

In short, the hopes — or illusions — aroused by Ostpolitik remain a major factor in West German politics. Ostpolitik assumed that the reunification of Germany could only follow a long period of détente and a gradual erosion of borders. That is why it was built upon recognition of the East German state, which objectively ratified partition. And that is why the West Germans shrink from confrontation with the Soviet Union, whether it be over Afghanistan, nuclear arms or Poland.

Reinforced by a lively trade and banking business, this fascination with the East has obviously weakened the West's diplomacy and emboldened Moscow to try to widen the fissures. Americans cannot safely ignore the pressures on Bonn, but it would be foolish to pretend that West Germans these days are seeing the world with clear eyes.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## At Fault — Solidarity, or Communist Unrealism?

By Jaroslaw Anders

NEW YORK — It is too early to apply the historian's detachment to the questions of whether and how the Polish tragedy could have been avoided. But those who criticize Solidarity for its impatience and its weak sense of limits fail to understand the deep mechanisms that made the Polish freedom movement possible, and overlook the significant message that its drama conveys.

Solidarity was born of a violent protest by a society governed against its will and deprived of the possibility of dissent. Its foundations were the newly discovered sense of power among the people and an upsurge of liberated consciousness. The social energy discharged during the strikes of August, 1980, revitalized the centuries-old dream of national independence and a more recent but no less powerful dream of Western-style democracy. The spirit of the past 16 months was that of ideal aims, historical justice and moral vindication.

Solidarity's leadership could not turn openly against either the romantic or the retributive character of popular sentiments, lest it deprive the movement of a vital source of energy. Yet it managed to translate them into a political program of surprising maturity and moderation.

Based on its effort on the Yugoslav model of a market economy, workers' self-management and local self-government, Solidarity sought democratic control of the economic and social policy of the state, while leaving the single-party center of power in full command of foreign policy and military alliances.

If Solidarity's main demands had been fulfilled and its existence officially confirmed, the Polish freedom movement would probably have changed character and lost its militant edge. It would have been much more ready to accept geopolitical limitations.

If the government had been committed to the idea of cooperation with its own people, it would have won true authority — for the first time in Poland's postwar history — enabling it both to protect the interests of its own nation and to guarantee Soviet military and economic interests.

Of course, all this would have affected other countries of the Communist bloc. It would have hastened the process of eco-

nomic and social reform in Hungary, and stimulated a similar process in other satellite states. For the Soviet Union, it would probably have meant eventual re-evaluation of the whole concept of the Soviet presence in Eastern Europe.

Instead the Communist empire struck back with the automatic ruthlessness of a

economy will not be improved by the rule of terror and the introduction of slave labor. The Soviet Union will probably have to take upon itself the payment of Polish debts, and the costs will be felt by all countries of the Communist bloc.

Neither was the blow aimed at the concept of transformation within the Com-

mutically betrayed. No matter what scenario for the future the rulers of Poland may have, their present acts will be remembered as national treason.

For centuries, the survival of the Polish nation has depended on memory. As a consequence, memory became the greatest force and the greatest calamity of Poles. Poland is a place that does not forget or forgive. No government that refuses to condemn publicly the martial law of 1981 will be able to win authority or obtain real cooperation from the people.

Today we hear about reckless acts of violence and resistance that give evidence of extreme emotions. When they subside, a state of silent war will follow — a war of mistrust, mental resistance and accumulated hatred. Resentment will accumulate to provoke a desperate outbreak.

The reason for crushing Poland's liberal movement was not excessive demands by Solidarity but the spirit of freedom that Solidarity represented. No matter how much or how little the people asked, the fact that they asked, and asked in a powerful and undaunted way, presented a threat that could not be tolerated.

A system based on the suppression of the natural longings of men is always insecure. Its insecurity has nothing to do with armies, economic problems or access to the sources of energy. It is the insecurity generated by the innermost nature of totalitarianism, which is essentially a vicious circle of history: The more power it accumulates and the more suppressive it becomes, the deeper its sense of insecurity — which in turn results in a craving for more power and calls for more suppression. The fear of the ruled is reflected in the fear of the rulers.

The Polish drama is a gloomy message to the world. It says that there is little hope for a radical transformation within the Eastern power bloc. Yet it tells also that such hope should never be abandoned, that people will rise to claim their rights and face defeat in the name of whatever chance is left to us.

The writer, a Polish journalist and a visiting scholar at the New York Institute for the Humanities, contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.



Z. Ross

totalitarian machine. There are good reasons to believe that this "solution" of the Polish problem was prepared from the moment Solidarity emerged from the upheaval of August, 1980.

The recent coup was not motivated by security considerations. No Soviet military interests were threatened. In fact, from the strict point of view of European strategy, the coup in Poland was a dubious move; a considerable portion of the second-largest army in the Warsaw Pact is tied up in the unusual military task of occupying its own territory.

Not did economic reasons justify the risks of intervention by proxy. The Polish

munist economic system. Hungary's example proves that structural changes of the kind sought in Poland are acceptable when made without too much publicity.

Now the military takeover has created an impossible situation, a battlefield without a winner, which will have disruptive consequences in all walks of life. Thousands of people were arrested during a single night — not only union leaders and political activists but also leading intellectuals, scientists and artists. Thousands of others were subjected to the humiliation of signing a "loyalty oath." Polish propaganda resorted to anti-Semitism. People saw their hopes and ambitions

## Washington and Managua

The Reagan administration has objected to Nicaragua's military buildup and to its provocative purchase of Soviet-bloc weaponry. It accuses Nicaragua of violating international law by permitting a flow of arms to leftist comrades in El Salvador. But the Reagan administration spoils its case when it indulges the training of exile armies in Florida — an illegal and provocative action that justifies alarm in Nicaragua.

Hector Fabian, a Cuban-born leader of one such private army, puts the legal point frankly: "Under the Carter and Nixon administrations, what we were doing was a crime. With the Reagan administration, no one has bothered us for 10 months." And it's not just training. The forthright Fabian says that at least 100 Nicaraguan exiles have returned to their country to fight against its revolutionary junta.

By winking at these activities, a law-and-

order administration sets a peculiar example. Allowing a base on American soil for military operations against another nation is a violation of international law and of the Neutrality Act of 1794. Worse: When an American government condones exile armies, it encourages the view that American firepower is committed to their cause.

Central Americans have particular reason to fret about this languid tolerance. Nicaragua was once briefly ruled by William Walker, a California adventurer who burst into the country with a private army in 1853. In the 1920s, the Marines became its occupiers and the Somoza dynasty was their legacy.

Americans are right to ask Nicaragua to keep its weapons out of its neighbors' affairs. And Nicaragua is surely right to insist that the United States do the same. The law provides the remedy. It is high time to enforce it.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## A Simpleminded Old Nostrum, but It Remains Murderous

By Henry Fairlie

WASHINGTON — It may not seem to be a topic for the Christmas holidays, but in a way none could be more so. I am talking of anti-Semitism.

Few things are more depressing now than the evidence, reported in newspapers from week to week, that anti-Jewish feeling persists across the world. Not only persists, indeed, but seems to be increasing. Century after century, the virulence goes on, even as we sing carols to a Jewish baby.

Here are just a few headlines of the past three months: "Anti-Semitism Is Seen in Some German Texts," "Ethiopia's Black Jews, a Perilous Community," "French Jewry's Well-Grounded Fear," "Anti-Semitism Goes Respectable," "Of course the example refers to America." And there are the sentences beyond the headlines: "Austria is an anti-Semitism without Jews..."

Year in and year out, it goes on and on. We can rely on our Christmas for this. Wherever there are difficulties, take comfort, and blame — why, of course, the Jews. It's the done thing, after all; age after age, we've done it. In the ancient world — vilify the Jews; in the medieval world — vilify the Jews; in the modern world — vilify the Jews. Why expect it, in the future world, to be different?

Just vilify them, mind you, not crucify them. We have grown numb by-pamby since the Holocaust. The most depressing thing in today's stories is the constant refrain: "Of course the example refers to America." Of course the example today is not militant. That somehow seems to make it all right. We don't actually make lampshades out of Jews' skin now. We are more civilized than that, so we have our sport with them with a free conscience.

The facts and figures can read so smoothly. After the bombing of a Paris synagogue last October, Louis Elie conducted a poll throughout France. One Frenchman in eight thinks that there are too many Jews in France; one in 10 feels that Jews are not "as French" as other citizens. It is easy to be numb to such figures — what meaning is there to them? — until we recall the years of Vichy. The violence in the work of terrorists and neo-Nazis — but what is the soil in which they breed?

So one's eyes stray from country to country, absorbing the stories of what now seems to be universal. The downplaying of the Nazi treatment of the Jews, the revival of neo-Nazism on the right, the emergence of an anti-Zionist, anti-Israel feeling on the left, which all

too easily finds an anti-Semitic accent. The ingredients, old and new, are there. They make a powerful and virulent mixture.

Whether it is a response to the need for Arab oil, or to the wish for a settlement in the Middle East, pro-Arab sympathy is now more widespread than before. There can be no honest person who will not admit that, at the back of Western consciousness, lies one simple, obvious if unspoken solution to the problems in the Middle East. Dump Israel. For the sake of oil and peace, abandon this one Jewish state.

There is much to be said for understanding the position of the Arabs. But the distressing fact is that anti-Semitism is a simple, obvious if unspoken solution to the problems in the Middle East. Dump Israel. For the sake of oil and peace, abandon this one Jewish state.

Black and Third World identification with the Arabs feeds a new strain into old attitudes, and in turn the left in America and in Europe identifies with the Third World and the blacks. Thus a new strain from the left is fed into the old. Rationalizations of anti-Semitism are now heard in quarters where they were not known before. Not only heard, but left unchallenged. Not only left unchallenged, but given some respectability. Anti-Semitism is ceasing to be a mark of disgrace.

It is all very well suddenly to see the Poles as heroes. I am the last person to deny the recurring vitality which they keep on displaying in their history. But they have never been, under rightist or leftist regimes, very reliable defenders of civil freedoms. They have also been in their history, under rightist and leftist regimes, one of the most anti-Semitic nations in Europe.

Just as Austria, even with its Jewish communities shrunk to a few thousands, is still anti-Semitic, so is anti-Semitism also strong in Poland, with its Jewish population also shrunk. When such hostility to a race of people persists, even in countries where there is not now even a population to provoke it, one is talking of a terrible evil, against which we dare not let down our guard.

This is not the place to examine the causes and sources of anti-Semitism, a subject that led even the late philosopher Hannah Arendt into an unpleasing ambivalence. What matters is that outbursts of anti-Semitism have consistently heralded either totalitarianism or simply the collapse of a political and even a moral order. Once the Jews get it in the neck, as history amply shows us, the turn of the rest of us is not far behind.

Anti-Semitism both feeds on and engenders notions of conspiracy. If we tolerate ideas of Jewish or Zionist conspiracy, ideas of

other conspiracies grow in the soil. If the Jews are conspiring, who may not be conspiring? Once released the idea that some difficulty which besets us is the result of a plot, and we quickly find that the existence of a plot can explain all our difficulties.

I do not see how anyone can deny that the atmosphere is now thick with theories of conspiracy. Americans do not just confront the Soviet Union, it seems, they confront everywhere a Communist conspiracy. There are not just groups of terrorists, with very different aims, and some of them loosely associated, there is a worldwide terrorist conspiracy. Cuba is not simply a nation — and a nuisance — it is itself a conspiracy.

The whole of Central America and the Caribbean is one gigantic conspiracy, and not just a cluster of small nations and islands, each with its particular problems. If things do not go America's way anywhere in the world, then we are told that there is a conspiracy. There are conspiracies, also, at

home. If the administration's economic policies fail, the old Wall Street conspiracy is blamed. There is a conspiracy to prevent babies from being born, a conspiracy to keep religion out of schools, a conspiracy to teach pornography to first graders, a conspiracy to deny the right to bear arms, a conspiracy to make us all homosexual and a conspiracy to erase the story of our genesis. It is hard to remember a time when the air has been so thick with stories of plots, and our minds given so few rational explanations of what goes on around us.

To at least one of its aspects, anti-Semitism is an escape from complexity. All conspiracy theories are efforts to find tidy explanations of the untidy world. If something goes awry somewhere in the world, someone must somewhere be issuing secret protocols. Our politics are, day by day, being reduced to simple responses to situations that are simply described.

Anti-Semitism is a simple explanation of anything that we find too complicated. But this is true of all ideas of conspiracy. And those who imagine conspiracies must themselves become conspirators. Their theories can be sustained only by unrelenting, far-in-the-night dredging over old facts to find new meanings in them. If the conspirator is clandestine, so is the theorist of conspiracy.

Closeted in his room, wrapped in his obsession, he will find the proof. Meanwhile, the world goes bumping, rumbling on its precarious way: the Poles behaving very much like Poles, the Russians behaving very much like Russians, even the economy behaving very much like economies always do. It can all seem out of our control, and when it does, there must be someone to blame. Who? Why, of course, the Jews.

Anti-Semitism is for the simpleminded a final solution of any and every difficulty. If only it were only that. The bother is that it never stops there. It leads where it points and always in one direction. No many steps beyond the mild anti-Semitic remark there is torture and mutilation and death.

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## In Defense of Independent Israel

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — You would think the heaviest cross Ronald Reagan had to bear was the Star of David.

With Poland in agony, the president's aides spent a week debating whether the free world's leader should wear a Star of David. Unable to counter the superpower adversary, the president vented his spleen on a minipower ally.

Israel had just placed the Golan Heights under civil rather than military law, a step short of annexation. Since the failure of U.S. diplomacy to induce Syria to remove its Soviet missiles from Lebanon, that was the least violent response Israel could make to Syria's creeping annexation of Lebanon and its buildup of the PLO there.

World reaction had been ritualistic but mild. France's President Mitterrand did not cancel his plans to visit Israel, and even Lord Carrington kept cool. Only in the Reagan administration was Israel's move seized upon as an opportunity to cloak impotence toward the oppressors of Poland with a new toughness toward an ally.

Reagan's choice of punishment was harsh to "suspend" the strategic cooperation agreement entered into recently to assuage Israeli concerns about American arming the Saudis with the means to attack Tel Aviv.

One administration official not afflicted with Saudiomania argues that the punishment was much more severe than intended: "We thought it would be to delay implementation of the agreement for a while, delay meetings to show our displeasure. But then Haig used the word 'suspend.' There were no arrangements for suspension in the agreement, only for termination upon six months' notice." No wonder Begin blew: The U.S. broke its word.

Whether the Haig suspension was a calculated rebuke to a provocative blunder, it was the most stinging slap in the face administered to any U.S. ally in recent history. The Israelis set great store by a solemnly signed document; a treaty is the only pressure on them now to return their territorial margin of safety to Egypt. For Secretary of State Haig to "suspend" the first written Israeli-American agreement in such cavalier fashion made a mockery of all the negotiations leading up to it.

A Leash So Menachem Begin gave Ronald Reagan a piece of his mind, and I say good for him. Yes, the rhetoric was excessive — I don't want Reagan or Begin defining my loyalties as American or Jew — but the scale of the Reagan insult made the heartfelt blast understandable. An agreement that one side can ignore at will is no agreement at all. Reagan is the first U.S. president to use aid to Israel as a leash, snapping the Israeli head back three times this year because they refuse to submit weekly to nuclear blackmail or terrorist attacks.

When the White House puts out the line that American Jews are deserting Israel in droves, CBS television swallows that wish-think whole — to the point of depicting Sen. Charles Mathias, who since his re-election has joined Richard Nixon in deploring the political power of Jewish Americans, as one of the "Israel supporters" newly disappointed in Begin.

This administration acts as if it expects Israel to perform only as an agent of the United States. But no sovereign nation, least of all one whose survival is constantly at stake, is going to do that. "No blank checks," say the Reagan

men — as they try to buy an ally with rubber checks.

The policy of publicly humiliating a traditional ally has made America no new friends in the Arab world and has removed the trust needed to encourage Israel to take risks for peace. Not only is it a betrayal of all Reagan promised, it is a policy that is failing.

Haig is hinting that unless the Israelis say they are sorry, the United States will not veto UN sanctions. Now there's a dandy way to patch things up. I would hate to be living near a PLO base in Lebanon after the United Nations votes for sanctions on Israel.

The irony is that the only people the Israelis have left to trust are the PLO. The most militant of the Palestinians can be counted upon to provide the provocation for an Israeli military strike into Lebanon, a punishing blow to the independent Christian sect and the removal of the Syrian threat on Israel's northern border. Then the new U.S. tendency to "suspend" commitments would apply to all aid, and Israel would have to hunker down further, forced to think about holding onto its last third of Sinai and hoping for better luck with the next U.S. president.

Is that what Ronald Reagan wants? That is where his policy of demanding vassalhood from Israel is leading. The way back from that brink is for America to honor its commitments; for Israel to declare continued willingness to negotiate anything, as it did with Sadat even in Jerusalem; for the United States to veto sanctions and tell Syria to remove its missiles from Lebanon lest the Israelis do it for them.

America must never succumb to the temptation of bullying an honorably stiff-necked ally. That is the specialty of the other superpower. ©1981, The New York Times.

## Sound Advice on Energy

In the crucial field of energy research and development, the Reagan administration's priorities are badly skewed. Critics have been saying so for some time. Now the same judgment comes from the Energy Department's own Energy Research Advisory Board.

This panel gives heavy representation to industry and engineering. The chairman is John S. Foster Jr., a nuclear physicist, who was the Defense Department's chief scientist a decade ago and is now vice president for technology of TRW, Inc. The vice chairman is William McCormick, an executive of the Michigan-Wisconsin Pipeline Co. Their recommendations deserve careful attention.

Disproportionate amounts of federal money are being poured into the technologies (most of them nuclear) to generate electricity, the panel concluded.

More broadly, it warns that too much of the federal support for research and development is going into attempts to expand supply, and not enough into conservation. The administration has severely cut the funds for conservation research, although, the panel observes, conservation research "has so far contributed much more than supply augmentations in reducing our dependence on insecure oil imports."

While it is highly important to develop more efficient methods of oil recovery, the panel observes that the oil industry is fully capable of doing this work itself; federal

funding ought to be cut. In contrast, the fragmented construction industry has very little ability to develop technology, and here an increase in federal support is important.

As for nuclear power, the panel correctly calls for more support for the current generation of light water reactors. In this field, the top priority is a federal program to dispose of radioactive waste. The trouble here is not in the realm of technology but rather in the political inability of the government to come to a decision. Where to cut back support? The panel points to the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, among other unpromising ventures.

This report gives extraordinary emphasis to the urgent need for research on the climate and the effects of the increasing loads of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. As the world burns more coal, governments need better information on its effects. The threat of an overload of carbon dioxide changing the planet's climate is perhaps not immediate. But it would impose an absolute limit on fuel consumption, with implications making the oil crises and dislocations of the past decade seem trivial. Only the government can support the scientific work on the needed scale.

This advice is clear, well-informed and convincing. It represents a very considerable departure from the administration's current allocations of funds for energy research. But there is nothing at all wrong with that.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### Tokyo Approves Bonn on Poland

Most people in the Western world feel that the Polish crisis must not be permitted to develop into a global crisis. Prior to President Reagan's announcement of sanctions against Poland last week, it was feared here that the United States would take action which would aggravate international tension because of its hatred for Jaruzelski's military government and the Soviet Union behind it. In the event, economic sanctions "have been taken that

showed signs of greater restraint than expected," as Foreign Ministry sources put it. Many people must have felt relieved.

It goes without saying that a military government is not desirable. But the realism of the West German government is worthy of consideration. The Japanese government proposes to treat the American request that Japan take sanctions in a careful and realistic way, and to take into consideration the reactions of the West European countries.

— From the Asahi Evening News (Tokyo).

## Letters

### Yalta Syndrome

World War II started in 1939 over Gdansk. After five and a half years of a struggle that left some 30 million dead, of which one-fifth were Poles, Europe was divided at Yalta in 1945 into Soviet and U.S. spheres of interest. The nation that had been the first to resist the Nazi onslaught fell victim to unenlightened American foreign policy, then pursued by a sick president in a hurry to pull his troops out of Europe. The worst of trusting Stalin's assurance of free status for Poland has once more taken up a struggle against tyranny, isolated and without help from the West,

her heroic effort came to a predictably brutal end. Once more, an American president is careful not to upset the balance of power.

R. MERRIMAN.

Paris.

### Sakharov's Gift

My hope in the future revives when the human spirit proves stronger than all the weapons of Soviet power. The brave Sakharov couple, and many known and unknown heroes like them, have given evidence of this role and again in the last few years.

A.F. ROLMSA.

Jerez de la Frontera, Spain.

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Think Phone!



# NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Dec. 28

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Market Summary		
Dec. 28, 1981		
Dow Jones Averages		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
Market Indices		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
NYSE Most Active		
IBM	160 1/8	↓ 1/8
AT&T	42 3/4	↓ 1/4
GE	28 1/2	↓ 1/2
AMT	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
GO	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
IBM	160 1/8	↓ 1/8
AT&T	42 3/4	↓ 1/4
GE	28 1/2	↓ 1/2
AMT	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
GO	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
NYSE Index		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
Standard & Poors Index		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX Most Active		
IBM	160 1/8	↓ 1/8
AT&T	42 3/4	↓ 1/4
GE	28 1/2	↓ 1/2
AMT	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
GO	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
IBM	160 1/8	↓ 1/8
AT&T	42 3/4	↓ 1/4
GE	28 1/2	↓ 1/2
AMT	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
GO	24 1/2	↓ 1/2
AMEX Stock Index		
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11
Dow Jones Bond Averages		
NYSE	2,811.11	↓ 11.11
AMEX	1,111.11	↓ 11.11

12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock High Low P/E		12 Month Stock 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High Month		Low Month		High Low		Close		Open	
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12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2
12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2
12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2
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12 Month Stock		High Low Disc.		% 2 vs. Prev. 1992.		35% High Low		Close Prev. Close	
12/28	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27	10/27
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... which is washing into the ocean at a rate of 2 billion tons yearly.

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**AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Dec. 28**

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

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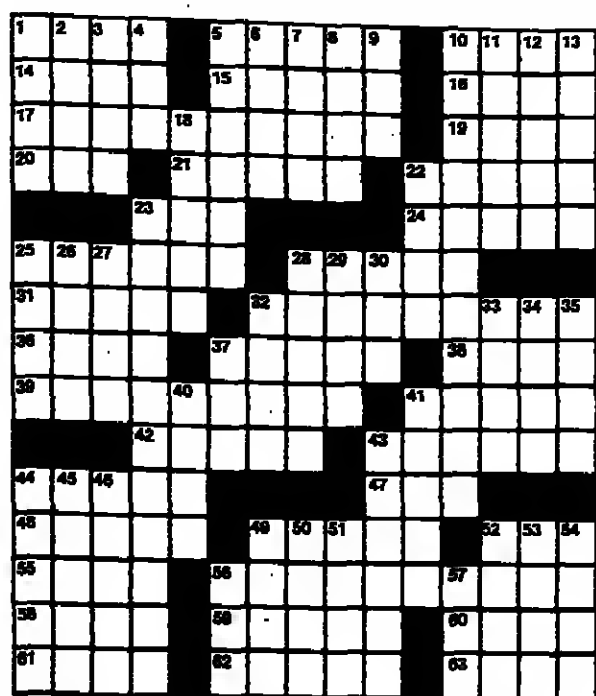
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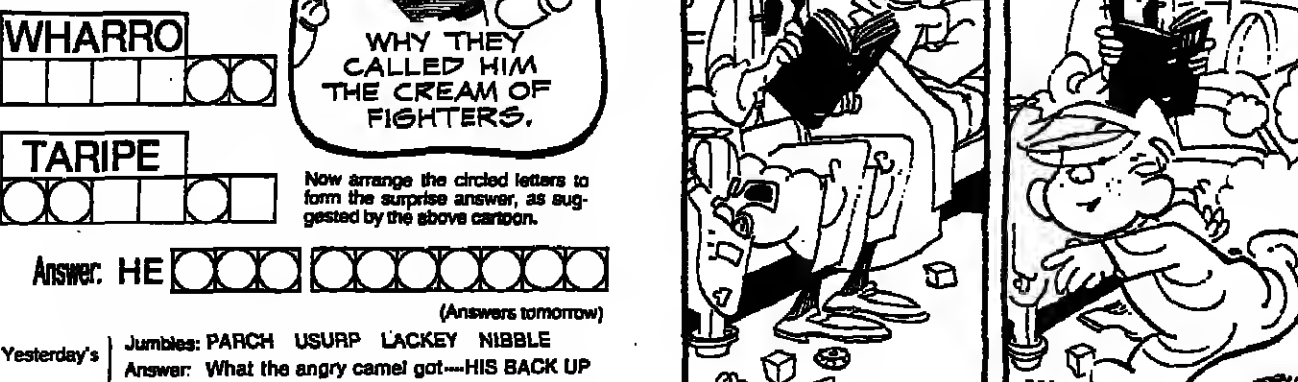
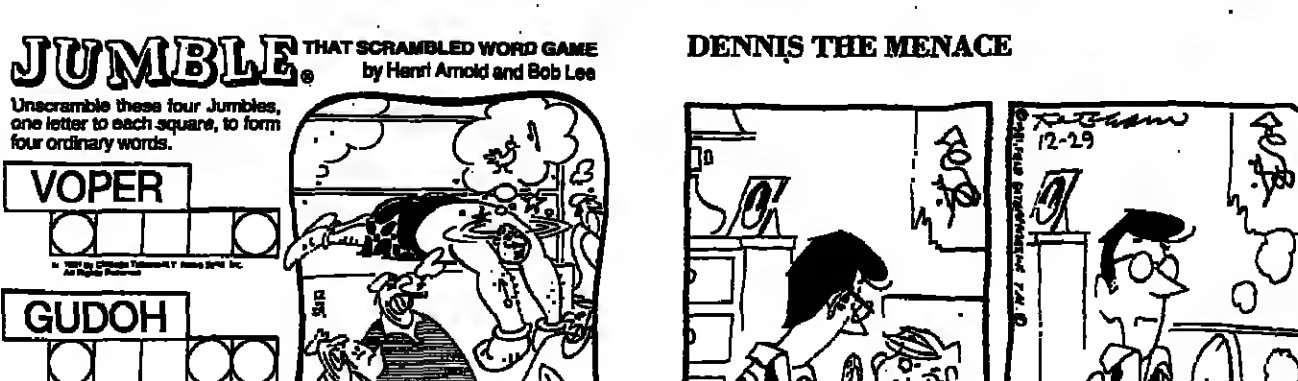
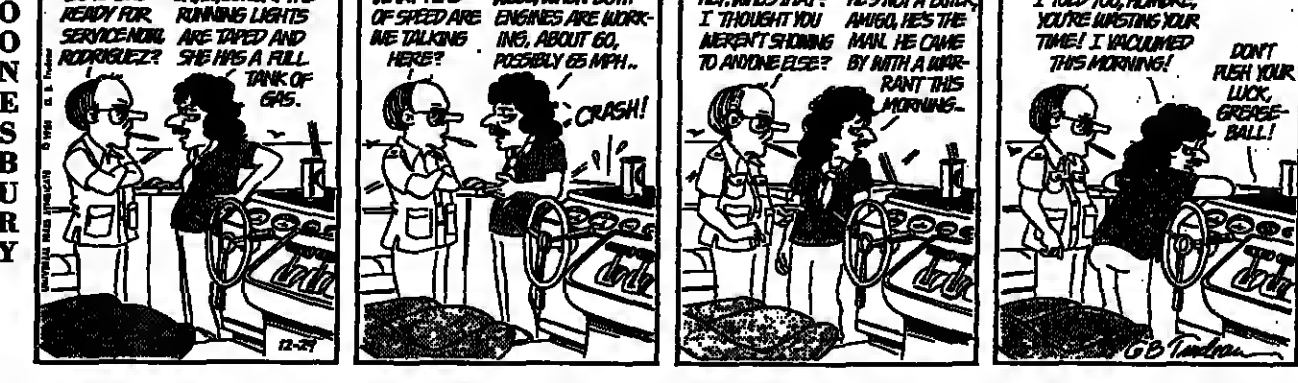
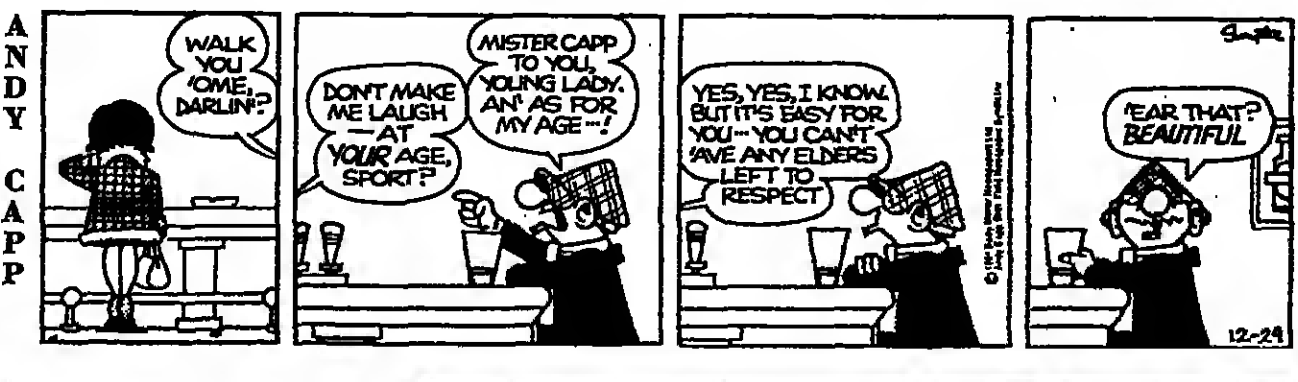
C CROSSWORD Edited by Eugene T. Maleska



- ACROSS**
- 1 Phone
  - 5 Goodbye to Pedro
  - 10 Culinary V.I.P.
  - 14 Haughty
  - 15 Signs
  - 16 Corridor
  - 17 Origin
  - 19 Menorca is one
  - 20 Consume
  - 21 Role of the dog in "Peter Pan"
  - 22 Spud
  - 23 Afghan coin
  - 24 Across Worth Smoldering remains
  - 26 Former Asian alliance
  - 31 Kind of tactic
  - 32 Protective finishes
  - 36 Sesames
  - 37 Exhibition place
  - 38 Hockey structure
  - 39 Materials for Cézanne, Gauguin et al.
  - 41 Billow
  - 42 Kefauver
  - 43 Emphasize
  - 44 Type of break
  - 47 Spanish gold
  - 48 Growing out
  - 49 Proportion
  - 52 Duct
- DOWN**
- 1 Contend successfully
  - 2 Girl in "East of Eden"
  - 3 Village
  - 4 Foul's "My Name Is Asher"
  - 5 Does away with
  - 6 Cherished
  - 7 Electrified particles
  - 8 Start of a Grimm story
  - 9 Compass light and dark
  - 11 Dispatch
  - 12 Actress Vera-
  - 13 Spread outward
  - 18 Harden
  - 22 S.A. monkey
  - 23 What Picasso deliberately distorted
  - 25 This, to Pablo
  - 26 Year in Paschal II's papacy
  - 27 Gala event
  - 28 Flavors
  - 29 Cupid
  - 30 Massachusetts cape
  - 32 Weathercock
  - 33 Tortoise's rival
  - 34 Three-minute
  - 35 Witnesses
  - 37 Pose for an artist
  - 40 Retired tennis star
  - 41 Home
  - 43 Free (opponent of slavery)
  - 44 Smallest amount
  - 45 Sam or Remus
  - 46 Brazilian seaport
  - 49 List
  - 50 Son
  - 51 Gentle
  - 52 Stringent
  - 53 Feed the pot
  - 54 Arise
  - 56 Aficionado
  - 57 "Studio" of TV fame

**WEATHER**

	HIGH	LOW		HIGH	LOW
ALABAMA	15	9	FLORIDA	15	9
ALASKA	15	9	GEORGIA	15	9
ARIZONA	15	9	ILLINOIS	15	9
ARKANSAS	15	9	INDIANA	15	9
CALIFORNIA	15	9	IOWA	15	9
CANADA	15	9	KANSAS	15	9
CONNECTICUT	15	9	LOUISIANA	15	9
DELAWARE	15	9	MARYLAND	15	9
FLORIDA	15	9	MASSACHUSETTS	15	9
GEORGIA	15	9	MICHIGAN	15	9
HAWAII	15	9	MINNESOTA	15	9
IDaho	15	9	MISSISSIPPI	15	9
ILLINOIS	15	9	MOBILE	15	9
INDIANA	15	9	NEW HAMPSHIRE	15	9
IOWA	15	9	NEW JERSEY	15	9
KANSAS	15	9	NEW YORK	15	9
LOUISIANA	15	9	NORTH CAROLINA	15	9
MARYLAND	15	9	OHIO	15	9
MASSACHUSETTS	15	9	OKLAHOMA	15	9
MICHIGAN	15	9	PENNSYLVANIA	15	9
MINNESOTA	15	9	RHODE ISLAND	15	9
MISSISSIPPI	15	9	SOUTH CAROLINA	15	9
MOBILE	15	9	TENNESSEE	15	9
NEW HAMPSHIRE	15	9	TEXAS	15	9
NEW JERSEY	15	9	UTAH	15	9
NEW YORK	15	9	VERMONT	15	9
NORTH CAROLINA	15	9	WASHINGTON	15	9
OHIO	15	9	WEST VIRGINIA	15	9
OKLAHOMA	15	9	WISCONSIN	15	9
PENNSYLVANIA	15	9	WYOMING	15	9
RHODE ISLAND	15	9			
SOUTH CAROLINA	15	9			
TENNESSEE	15	9			
TEXAS	15	9			
UTAH	15	9			
VERMONT	15	9			
WASHINGTON	15	9			
WEST VIRGINIA	15	9			
WISCONSIN	15	9			
WYOMING	15	9			



BOOKS

**THE ELECTRONIC COTTAGE**  
By Joseph Deeken. 344 pp. \$14.95.  
William Morrow & Co., 105 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.  
Reviewed by Joseph McLellan

COMPUTERS have not yet started to have emotions (or if they have, they aren't telling us), but in a sense they are having babies. Near the beginning of his survey for intelligent nonexperts, Joseph Deeken explains the meaning of "CAD," which is an essential part of the computer's reproductive process. This curious word is an acronym for "computer-aided design," not a slightly obsolete term of reproach, and what it means is that one generation of computers can now participate in producing the next generation — particularly in the fuzzy, repetitious and boring parts that are extremely important in the process but not very interesting to talented humans.

CAD is a basic element in the computer revolution that is Deeken's primary subject in "The Electronic Cottage," and which has produced, in the last few years, a bewildering array of small, inexpensive, special-purpose computers that will play games with your children, regulate your home heating or security system, turn on your car ignition or tell you when the roast is ready to come out of your microwave oven.

With the aid of older, clunkier computers, we are now able to create a tiny silicon chip the equivalent of whole buildings full of intricately wired vacuum tubes, which were the first really functional computers three or four decades ago. A general-purpose home computer more powerful than the pioneering models used in World War II can now be purchased in about the same price range as a good high-fidelity system, and you can use it to play games, keep track of accounts and inventories in your business, draw pictures or compose music (on an elementary level).

Computer Revolution

The computer revolution is still young, and though he tries conscientiously to avoid overdoing the gee-whiz material in the future tense, Deeken can hardly avoid it. "Since you will soon have a computer at home which can communicate over phone lines," he says, "you will be able to subscribe to an electronic version of your favorite newspaper." That is not a dream of the year 2001: The Washington Post, like some other newspapers, is already available in a special edition for subscribers with home computers.

Some of his other predictions are a bit more futuristic — but only because society, en masse, does not work as fast as computers. Clothing, for example. Rather than buy and alter something ready-made, in the near future you may "go to the store with your measurements in explicit detail, perhaps on a cassette tape (only you and the computer will know). You put this tape in a machine at the store and then begin to look at various offerings for this season, pictured as they would look on you." After selecting fabrics, modifications and various other op-

Joseph McLellan is a columnist and critic for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

ALTHOUGH the number of bridge books published annually in the United States is greater than in any other country, no U.S. citizen can claim to be the most prolific author on the subject. The names of Ely Culbertson and Charles Goren may suggest themselves, but they are disqualified since almost all their books were the work of other pens — and very able ones.

In recent years, Hugh Kelsey of Scotland has produced a string of excellent books, despite a full-time career as a schoolmaster. But he trails two English rivals who began 20 years before him, in the 1940's, and usually produce a book a year. One of these is Maurice Mollo, whose output includes several classic works that are essential for the student of play. The other is Victor Mollo, who brings a light touch to complex problems: His articles and books about the Hideo Hoo and the Ruffel Rabbit earn him the top place among bridge humorists.

One Mollo book, "Card Play Technique," has been a best-seller among bridge books for a quarter of a century. He is now working on a successor entitled "Streamline Your Card Play." This will include some points of play that have never been made before, a rare feat in a field that has been thoroughly studied for half a century.

It is unlikely that any expert anywhere is familiar with the subtle, deceptive maneuver suggested by Mollo on the diagrammed deal from his new book. The reader who wishes to test himself should cover the West and South hands and plan the defense to three no-trump after the lead of the spade jack. South wins the first trick with the king in the closed hand and leads a club to dummy's queen.

A straightforward auction has shown that South has about 16 high-card points, a balanced hand and no major suit. The first question for East is whether he should win the second trick with the club ace. He should win, because there is a substantial danger that a duck will give South three tricks, with five in diamonds, three in spades and one in clubs.

It is clear that East must hope for four tricks in hearts. But which heart should he now lead? One possibility is to cash the ace and king, hoping the jackpot if South began with a doubleton queen. But this would be fatal if

**NORTH**

♠ A 7 6	♥ 8 5 3	♦ A J 10 4 3	♣ Q
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**WEST**

♠ J 10 9 4	♥ J 10 4	♦ 9	♣ 10 8 6 5 3
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**EAST**

♠ A 8 2	♥ A K 6 2	♦ 7 6 5 2	♣ A 7 3
---------	-----------	-----------	---------

**SOUTH (D)**

♠ Q 8 3	♥ Q 9 7	♦ K 8 3	♣ K 9 4
---------	---------	---------	---------

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding:

South	West	North	East
1NT	Pass	2♣	Pass
2♦	Pass	3NT	Pass

West led the spade jack.

Imprimé par P.I.O. - 1, Boulevard Ney 75018 Paris



# Giants, Halfback Carpenter, Shock Eagles, 27-21

From Agency Dispatches

PHILADELPHIA — Even the Philadelphia Eagles, who for 18 years have been among the worst teams in the National Football League, couldn't blow this one.

Although the Philadelphia Eagles all salvaged their first playoff victory since 1958 by simply giving the ball to halfback Rob Carpenter, whose fourth-period run enabled New York to come away with a 27-21 victory in the National Conference wild-card game.

In the process of knocking out the 1981 Super Bowl finalists, the Giants borrowed strategy from Eagle Coach Dick Vermeil, who built his team into a powerhouse by combining a highly physical offense with a simple but aggressive defense.

But it was the Giants who controlled things with Carpenter's ball-carrying (a career-high 161 yards on 33 carries) and a quick

defense that almost let the Eagles come back — but not quite.

Now New York has a week to prepare for Sunday's NFC semifinal game at San Francisco against the even-more-surprising 49ers, who beat the Giants, 17-10, a month ago.

## Maturing

But this New York team has improved since then. Winners of five of their last six, the Giants are growing stronger as their offense, especially Carpenter and quarterback Scott Brunner, matures to take pressure off a marvelous defense.

Never was that more evident than Sunday. The Giant offense, last in the league statistically, took advantage of every first-half break presented by Philadelphia. And then in the second half, when the Eagle offense started to get going, New York gained two vital first downs without having to pass, preventing Philadelphia from touching the ball one last time.



Beasley Reece recovers Wally Henry's fumble, setting up New York's first touchdown in a 27-21 playoff victory over the Eagles.

"The defense has been given credit for getting us here," said defensive end Gary Jeter said. "But I think the offense showed what it could do. When we needed them to do something in the fourth period, they did."

"I just didn't want the Eagles to get the ball back. And they didn't."

But the Eagles' memories of this one will be largely of the opening quarter, not their final few minutes. They made enough errors to help any opponent, but they were especially harmful against a Giant defense that is at its best with a substantial lead.

The winners' early points came quickly. On the game's opening series, the Giants had to kick, only to regain possession when Wally Henry fumbled the punt after a hard hit by Lawrence Taylor. New York's Beasley Reece recovered on the Eagle 23; the Giants scored moments later on a swing pass from Brunner to halfback Leon Bright. Joe Donachie's conversion was blocked and the Giants led, 6-0.

"I didn't think I had enough room to catch the ball," Henry said. "Taylor came in there and hit me before I even had touched the ball. He just knocked me away from it."

## Big Play

After an Eagle punt, New York drove 63 yards on 11 plays, with Brunner, a second-year pro from Delaware, completing four passes, including a 10-yarder to John Misteo for a TD: 13-0, Giants, with 6:46 gone.

Then came the game's pivotal play.

Henry drifted to his right on the ensuing kickoff, after at first thinking Booker Russell would handle it. The ball went through Henry's arms and, when he tried to pick it up, he was snatched by Mike Dennis. The ball bounded into the end zone, where Mark Haynes recovered it for another touchdown — 12 seconds after Misteo's score.

An exchange of touchdowns had the Giants ahead, 27-7, at the half and then it became a matter of whether New York, in its first playoff game since 1963, could hang on. The Eagles drove 82 yards with the third-quarter

kickoff for one touchdown and got another with 2:51 left in the game — with the help of three major penalty calls on the Giants.

New York turned again to Carpenter, obtained from Houston for a third-round choice a month into the season. In the second half, he already had carried on 12 of the Giants' 14 plays (and caught a pass on another), including eight in a row against the NFC's No. 1 defense. The Giants didn't want to throw the ball or do anything that could be turned into a game-winning mistake by Philadelphia.

"I wasn't tired," Carpenter said. "They kept giving me the ball and I kept running with it. I'd do that all day if they'd let me."

With 88 seconds left in the game, the Giants, on their 39-yard line, had a third down and a yard to go for the first down that would let them run out the clock. Brunner, of course, was aware of the beating Carpenter was taking.

"How you feelin'?" Brunner later said he asked his halfback.

Said Carpenter, "Good."

"If he was hurt, or tired," Brunner said, "I know he would have told me. We couldn't afford a turnover at this point."

Carpenter got the call again. He followed center Jim Clark's block and barreled ahead for 5 yards and the first down. As Carpenter got going, so did the majority of Eagle fans, who sat until this, the bitter end.

Carpenter finished his performance with a 14-yard run off left tackle. The Eagles had no more time-outs, and after two keepers by Brunner, the clock ran out.

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With 88 seconds left in the game, the Giants, on their 39-yard line, had a third down and a yard to go for the first down that would let them run out the clock. Brunner, of course, was aware of the beating Carpenter was taking.

"How you feelin'?" Brunner later said he asked his halfback.

Said Carpenter, "Good."

"If he was hurt, or tired," Brunner said, "I know he would have told me. We couldn't afford a turnover at this point."

"This is the greatest day of my football career," said Carpenter, who had been Earl Campbell's fill-in at Houston. "There was the day I was born, the day I got married, and then today."

"The best thing that has ever happened to me is when I got traded to the New York Giants."

Remarkably, the Giants did most of their work on the ground by going straight at the Eagles — which is usually all but impossible. Nothing fancy: just one-on-one blocking with Carpenter reading his line and picking the holes. Everyone in Veterans Stadium knew what was coming did, yet Carpenter succeeded.

"It got to a point," Carpenter said, "that I knew what my line was going to do before they even did it. On that drive in the second quarter [when he carried four times for 40 yards to set up a touchdown], the feeling was unbelievable."

## No Joke

The feeling Giant fans have after this triumph must be equally unbelievable. Their team has had only two winning seasons since 1963 and finished 4-12 last year. And 11 games into this season, after losing to Washington in overtime, New York was 5-6.

But following last week's overtime win against Dallas and Sunday's impressive showing, the Giants are a joke no longer.

"I've been around when it was hard to hold on your head," said Jeter.

"Now it's fun to say I'm proud of what we have accomplished."

Henry drifted to his right on the ensuing kickoff, after at first thinking Booker Russell would handle it. The ball went through Henry's arms and, when he tried to pick it up, he was snatched by Mike Dennis. The ball bounded into the end zone, where Mark Haynes recovered it for another touchdown — 12 seconds after Misteo's score.

An exchange of touchdowns had the Giants ahead, 27-7, at the half and then it became a matter of whether New York, in its first playoff game since 1963, could hang on. The Eagles drove 82 yards with the third-quarter

kickoff for one touchdown and got another with 2:51 left in the game — with the help of three major penalty calls on the Giants.

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Carpenter got the call again. He followed center Jim Clark's block and barreled ahead for 5 yards and the first down. As Carpenter got going, so did the majority of Eagle fans, who sat until this, the bitter end.

Carpenter finished his performance with a 14-yard run off left tackle. The Eagles had no more time-outs, and after two keepers by Brunner, the clock ran out.

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## Shavers, an Aging Heavyweight, Is Still Delivering His Gift

By George Vecsey

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Some athletes have the gift that sets them apart from their peers. Nolan Ryan has The Arm. Mike Bossy has The Reflexes. Earl Monroe had The Moves.

With Earnie Shavers, it was The Punch.

Shavers was not the fastest or the smoothest boxer who ever came along, and he certainly was not the luckiest. But he had the punch. Some people think he had the strongest punch in the past generation.

Since leaving the cotton fields of Alabama and the steel mills of Ohio, Shavers has won 63 of 74 professional fights, including one draw, 60 of them by knockouts — one of the highest ratios in boxing history.

Most of his losses were respectable: a knockout in 11 by Larry

Holmes in 1979, a 12-round loss to Holmes in 1978, a bitterly disputed 15-round decision to Muhammad Ali in 1977.

Now Shavers is trying to prolong his generation. In the same month in which Joe Frazier and Ali returned to boxing, Shavers took his repaired retina into the ring in Nassau, the Bahamas, for one more payday.

## Bad Luck

There was one difference between the two former heavyweight champions and the one who never quite became champion.

Frazier should have lost and Ali did lose. Shavers, at the age of 37, knocked somebody out.

When Frazier and Ali lumbered back into the ring, they maintained they were not fighting for the money. Shavers cannot make that claim — not since the sheriff of Trumbull County, Ohio, auctioned off Shavers' \$338,000 home to help

pay his debts, estimated at \$500,000. Shavers was arrested earlier this year when a check bounced, but those charges were soon dropped.

"Everybody has had luck in business sometimes," says Jimmy Adams, a former wrestler who serves as Shavers' manager. "Now Earnie and I have a janitorial business. Everything's fine now."

He is contemplating the staging of boxing exhibitions with a country-music singer, Steve Warner, in hotel night clubs, but he is also looking for a major fight early next year — perhaps against Greg Page or Trevor Berbick.

At this stage in their lives, Shavers is a more fearsome opponent than either Frazier or Ali. Just as Mickey Mantle can still hit home runs in batting practice — as long as somebody throws the ball straight down the middle — Shavers still has the gift that made

him a contender. He still has the punch.

He put his gift on display on the Ali-Beribek undercard in Nassau. It was hard to pay much attention to Shavers with Ali talking. Berbick balking. Thomas Hearns bleeding. Page taunting. Scott LeDoux charging and the promoters botching everything, including the order of the fights.

"It was chaos," says Adams, who has seen enough chaos in his other callings. As a former professional wrestler, he wore a black hood and went by the name of The Scorpion; as a salesman, he installs mechanical bucking bulls in bucket-of-blood country bars.

"First they told us Earnie was on second. Then they said fifth. Earnie likes to sleep before a fight, so he found a corner and he fell right asleep."

"Then somebody comes along and says 'Hey, you guys are on in five minutes.' I woke Earnie up, explained it to him and we went right into the ring."

"Earnie is no kid, and he needs at least a couple of rounds of shadowboxing before a fight, just to get loose. He had no time for that."

Still groggy and stiff, Shavers tried to wake up his 37-year-old body in the ring.

Still trying to break a sweat as the fight began, Shavers was tagged immediately by Sims, a lithe 28-year-old best known for

once having cut Ali's lip in a sparring session. Shavers fell heavily, took a mandatory eight-count, and covered up for the rest of the first round.

More than a few people at ringside — remembering Shavers' detached retina after the second Holmes fight, two years ago — shouted for the official to stop the fight.

But the boxer trudged through the second round, waiting for his gift to materialize one more time.

It returned in the third — that right hand Ali had avoided, that Holmes had respected. Shavers slugged Sims and the younger man started to run. Shavers plodded after him and knocked him out in the fifth.

That was Shavers' biggest victory in many years. His second-biggest came a few days later, when all the checks cleared for the undercard fights.

Now Adams is talking of another big fight, perhaps with Page or Berbick. There are places where a man with a surgically-repaired retina cannot easily receive a license to fight — even with his surgeon's endorsement, which Shavers has.

But there are many more such boxing centers, such as Las Vegas, where just about anything goes. Perhaps Shavers should not be fighting at the age of 37, but at least he will never go into a ring unarmed. He'll still have the gift.

## Through Rose-Colored Binoculars

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — While the Hesians of the National Football League flounder through the opening acts in their postseason traffic, Phi Beta Kappa of tomorrow are doing their bumps and grinds in preparation for bowl games to help sell real estate in Pasadena, Calif., and tourism in Miami.

The oldest of these is the Rose Bowl, the match between Washington and Iowa Friday being the 66th. These two culture foundations have never met in the bowl and, incidentally, this is the 40th anniversary of the only Rose Bowl game not played in Pasadena.

Because of a wartime rule

ered fumble. He was tackled on the 1-yard line by teammate Benny Lom, but on the next play a California punt was blocked for a safety. That created a 2-0 lead for Georgia Tech, which became an 8-7 winner.

In that game California tried a quick kick, and the air hissed out of the ball over the line of scrimmage. No play. And a carnivorous California tackle bit a strip of hide off Georgia Tech's Stumpy Thomason. No relish.

Temper, Temper

After its great wartime team that included Doc Blanchard, Glenn Davis and Arnold Tucker had completed its last season at West Point, Army was prepared to waive its rule against postseason play and polish up the stars once more for the 1947 game against UCLA. But it was just then that the Pacific Coast Conference made a deal with the Western Conference to send representative teams to Pasadena annually. Illinois won the conference championship and was chosen.

The UCLA players were deeply

disappointed and the southern California press was furious: Imagine passing up Blanchard and Davis for an Illinois team that had lost two games! Illinois won, 45-14 — followed by Michigan, 49-0; Northwestern, 20-14; Ohio State, 17-14; Michigan, 14-6; Illinois, 40-7, and so on for 12 of the first 13 bowls of the marriage.

After two or three years, Coast sportswriters were fulminating that the Rose Bowl committee should be forced to go down on the field and take the annual bloodbath in person. Competitive fortunes have improved on the golden strand. Coast teams have won 10 of the last 12.

Entertainment in 1913, when interest in the charioteers was dwindling, included ostrich races, a camel between an elephant and a camel, and horses under saddle ridden by a cowboy, a cowgirl, an Indian and a Mexican.

In 1915, charioteer Off, a member of the tournament committee, said: "Pasadena is now the recognized home of chariot racing."

He was the first to make that boast since Nero.

## RED SMITH

against large gatherings on the Pacific Coast, the 1942 game was moved to Durham, N.C., where Oregon State upset Duke, 20-16.

In 1889 Dr. Charles F. Holder, who had moved west from New England and founded the Valley Hunt Club in Pasadena, suggested a festival to celebrate the beauty of his adopted city. Dr. Francis F. Rowland proposed that it be a rose festival, and on Jan. 1, 1890, club members paraded on horseback and in flowery carriages.

The following year Pasadena citizens were invited to join the parade, and by 1895 a Tournament of Roses Association had been formed. The name was chosen despite a shortage of roses in 1892 that led to the substitution of orange blossom petals.

Football became a cotillion event feature New Year's Day, 1902, when Michigan whopped Stanford, 49-0. That was so humbling that West Coast teams declined invitations, and football was out for 14 years until Washington State beat Brown, 14-0, in 1916.

If the Western teams chickened out after the first game, the Big Ten, then known as the Western Conference, showed the feather more prominently after California's 28-0 conquest of Ohio State in 1921. Western Conference teams stayed away 26 years.

While football was missing, the main event was chariot racing, with four-horse teams that demanded a bit of horsemanship. Twice in two years E.T. Off of Pasadena had a hitch run off with him, and he was gravely injured the second occasion.



